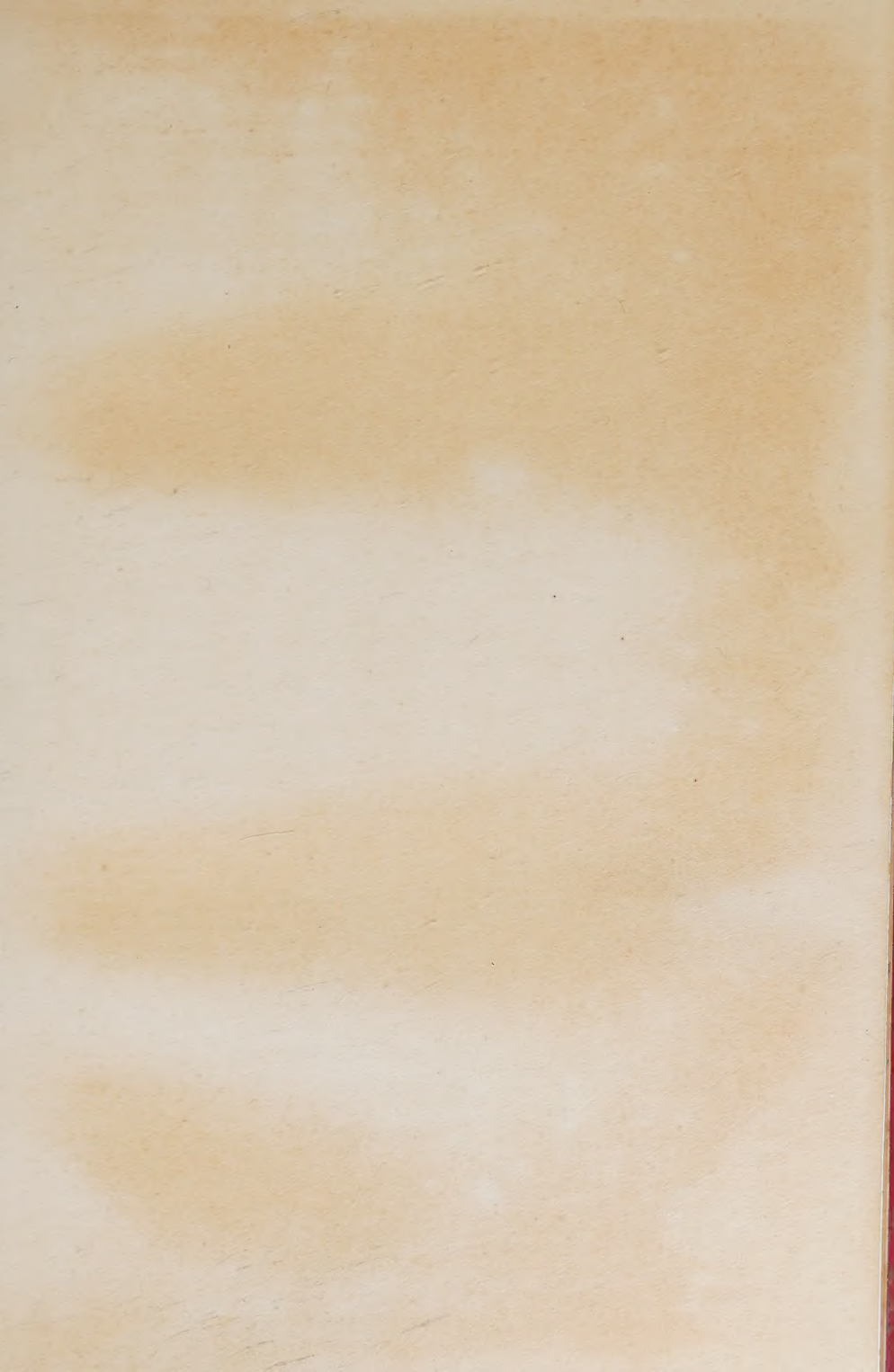


BELGIUM
ITALY
AND SWITZERLAND





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LEOPOLD I.

LEOPOLD I., first King of the Belgians, was born at Coburg in 1790. He distinguished himself with the Russian army at the battle of Leipzig, and married, in 1816, the only child of the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.) and heiress-presumptive to the British throne. Continuing to live in England after her death in 1817, he refused the crown of Greece, but accepted in 1831 his election as King of the Belgians, and in the next year married Louise of Orleans, daughter of Louis Philippe. The newly-formed kingdom owed much of its strength and prosperity to his discreet and fatherly government, and in 1848 his was almost the only European throne unshaken by revolution. "The Nestor of Europe," his judgment was universally respected by contemporary sovereigns, and not least by his niece, Queen Victoria. He died in 1865.

BELGIUM, ITALY, AND SWITZERLAND

By THE REV. G. EDMUNDSON,
Member of the Netherlands Association of Literature ;

H. WICKHAM STEED,
Formerly Correspondent of *The Times* in Rome ; and

THE REV. W. A. B. COOLIDGE.

ILLUSTRATED

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BELGIUM

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

THE political severance of the northern and southern Netherlands may be conveniently dated from the opening of the year 1579. By the signing of the league of Arras (5th of January) the Walloon "Malcontents" declared their adherence to the cause of Catholicism and their loyalty to the Spanish king, and broke away definitely from the northern provinces, who bound themselves by the union of Utrecht (29th of January) to defend their rights and liberties, political and religious, against all foreign potentates. Brabant and Flanders were still indeed under the control of the prince of Orange, and through his influence accepted in 1582 the duke of Anjou as their sovereign. The French prince was actually inaugurated duke of Brabant at Antwerp (February 1582) and count of Flanders at Bruges (July), but his misconduct speedily led to his withdrawal from the Netherlands, and even before the assassination of Orange (July 1584) the authority of Philip had been practically restored throughout the two provinces. This had been achieved by the military skill and statesmanlike abilities of Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, appointed governor-general on the death of Don John of Austria, on the 1st of October 1578. Farnese first won by promises and blandishments the confidence of the Walloons, always jealous of the predominance of the "Flemish" provinces, and then proceeded to make himself master of Brabant and Flanders by force of arms. In succession Ypres, Mechlin, Ghent, Brussels, and finally Antwerp (17th of August 1585) fell into his hands. Philip had in the southern Netherlands attained his object, and Belgium was henceforth Catholic and Spanish, but at the expense of its progress and prosperity. Thousands of its inhabitants, and those the most enterprising and intelligent, fled from the Inquisition, and made their homes in the Dutch republic or in England. All commerce and industry was at a standstill; grass grew in the streets of Bruges and Ghent; and the trade of Antwerp was transferred to Amsterdam. On Parma's death (3rd of December 1592) the archduke Ernest of Austria was appointed governor-general, but he died after a short tenure of office (20th of February 1595) and was at the beginning of 1596 succeeded by his younger brother the cardinal archduke Albert. Philip was now nearing his end, and in 1598 he gave his eldest daughter Isabel in marriage to her cousin the archduke Albert, and erected the Netherlands into a sovereign state under their joint rule. The advent of the new sovereigns, officially known as "the archdukes," though greeted with enthusiasm in the Belgic provinces, was looked upon with suspicion by the Dutch, who were as firmly resolved as ever to uphold their independence. The chief military event of the early years of their reign was the battle of Nieuport (2nd of July 1600), in which Maurice of Nassau defeated the archduke Albert, and the siege of Ostend, which after a three years' heroic defence was surrendered (20th of September 1604) to the archduke's general, Spinola. The Dutch, however, being masters of the sea, kept the coast closely blockaded, and through sheer exhaustion the king of Spain and the archdukes were compelled to agree to a truce for twelve years (9th of April 1609) with the United Provinces "in the capacity of free states over which Albert and Isabel made no pretensions." During the period of the truce the archdukes, who were wise and statesmanlike rulers, did their utmost to restore

prosperity to their country and to improve its internal condition. Unfortunately they were childless, and the instrument of cession of 1598 provided that in case they should die without issue, the Netherlands should revert to the crown of Spain. This reversion actually took place. Albert died in 1621, just before the renewal of the war with the Dutch, and Isabel in 1633. The Belgic provinces therefore passed under the rule of Philip IV., and were henceforth known as the Spanish Netherlands.

This connexion with the declining fortunes of Spain was disastrous to the well-being of the Belgian people, for during many years a close alliance bound together France and the United Provinces, and the southern Netherlands were exposed to attack from both sides, and constantly suffered from the ravages of hostile armies. The cardinal archduke Ferdinand, governor-general from 1634-1641, was a capable ruler, and by his military skill prevented in a succession of campaigns the forces of the enemy from overrunning the country. On the 30th of January 1648, Spain concluded a separate peace at Münster with the Dutch, by which Philip IV. finally renounced all his claims and rights over the United Provinces, and made many concessions to them. Among these was the closing of the Scheldt to all ships, a clause which was ruinous to the commerce of the Belgic provinces, by cutting them off from their only access to the ocean. Thus they remained for a long course of years without a seaport, and in the many wars that broke out between Spain and France were constantly exposed, as an outlying Spanish dependency, to the first attack, and peace when it came was usually purchased at the cost of some part of Belgian territory. By the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) Artois (except St Omer and Aire) and a number of towns in Flanders, Hainaut, and Luxemburg were ceded to France. Subsequent French conquests, confirmed by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), took away Lille, Douai, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtrai and Tournai. These were, indeed, partly restored to Belgium by the peace of Nijmegen (1679); but on the other hand it lost Valenciennes, Nieuport, St Omer, Ypres and Charlemont, which were only in part recovered by the peace of Ryswick (1697).

The internal history of the Belgic provinces has little to record during this long period in which the ambition of Louis XIV. to possess himself of the Netherlands, in right of his wife the infanta Maria Theresa, led to a series of invasions and desolating wars. The French king managed to incorporate a large slice of territory upon his northern frontier, but his main object was baffled by the steady resistance and able statesmanship of William III. of England and Holland. Meanwhile from 1692 onwards brighter prospects were opened out to the unfortunate Belgians by the nomination by the Spanish king of Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, to be governor-general with well-nigh sovereign powers. The elector had himself a claim to the inheritance as the husband of an Austrian archduchess, whose mother, the infanta Margaret, was the younger sister of the French queen. Maximilian Emanuel was an able man, who did his utmost to improve the condition of the country. He attempted to promote trade and restore prosperity to the impoverished land by the introduction of new customs, laws and other measures, and particularly by the construction of canals to counteract the damage done to Belgian commerce by the closing of the Scheldt. The position of the elector was greatly strengthened by the partition treaty of the 19th of August 1698. Under this instrument the signatory powers—England, France and Holland—agreed that on the demise of Charles II. the crown prince of Bavaria under his father's guardianship should be sovereign of Spain, Belgium and Spanish America. Charles II. himself shortly afterwards by will appointed the Bavarian prince heir to all his dominions. The death of the infant heir a few months later (6th of February 1699) unfortunately destroyed any prospects of a peaceable settlement of the Spanish Succession. Charles II. was persuaded to name as his sole successor, Philip duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin, and on his death (on the 1st November 1700) Louis XIV. took immediate steps to support his grandson's claims, in spite of his formal renunciation of such claims under the treaty of the Pyrenees. England and Holland were determined to prevent, however, at all costs the acquisition of Belgium by a French prince, and a coalition, known as the Grand Alliance, was formed between these two powers and the empire to uphold the claims of the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor.

One of the first steps of Louis was to take possession of the Netherlands. The hereditary feud between the houses of Austria and Bavaria induced the elector to take the side of France, and he was nominated by Philip V. vicar-general of the Netherlands. The unhappy Belgic provinces were again doomed for a number of years to be the battle-ground of the contending forces, and it was on Belgic soil that Marlborough won the great victories of Ramillies (1706) and of Oudenarde (1708), by which he was enabled to drive the French armies out of the Netherlands and to carry the war into French territory. At the general peace concluded at Utrecht (11th of April 1713) the long connexion between Belgium and Spain was severed, and this portion of the Burgundian inheritance of Charles V. placed under the sovereignty of the Habsburg claimant, who had, by the death of his brother, become the emperor Charles VI. The Belgic provinces now came for a full century to be known as the Austrian Netherlands. Yet such was the dread of France and the enfeebled state of the country that Holland retained the privilege, which had been conceded to her during the war, of garrisoning the principal fortresses or Barrier towns, on the French frontier, and her right to close the navigation on the Scheldt was again ratified by a European

treaty. The beginnings of Austrian sovereignty were marked by many collisions between the representatives of the new rulers and the States General, and provincial "states." Despite their troubled history and long subjection, the Belgic provinces still retained to an unusual degree their local liberties and privileges, and more especially the right of not being taxed, except by the express consent of the states. The marquis de Prié, who (as deputy for Prince Eugene) was the imperial governor from 1719 to 1726, encountered on the part of local authorities and town guilds vigorous resistance to his attempt to rule the Netherlands as an Austrian dependency, and he was driven to take strong measures to assert his authority. He selected as his victim a powerful popular leader at Brussels, Francis Anneesens, syndic of the guild of St Nicholas, who was beheaded on the 19th of September 1719. His name is remembered in Belgian annals as a patriot martyr to the cause of liberty. The administration of de Prié was not, however, without its redeeming features. He endeavoured to create at Ostend a seaport, capable in some measure to take the place of Antwerp, and in 1722 a Chartered Company of Ostend was erected for the purpose of trading in the East and West Indies. The determined hostility of the Dutch rendered the promising scheme futile, and after a precarious struggle for existence, Charles VI., in order to gain the assent of the United Provinces and Great Britain to the Pragmatic Sanction, suppressed the Company in 1731.

For sixteen years (1725-1741) the archduchess Mary Elizabeth, sister of the emperor, filled the post of governor-general. Her rule was marked by the restoration of the old form of administration under the three councils, and was a period of general tranquillity. She died (1741) in the Netherlands, and the empress-queen, Maria Theresa, who had succeeded under the Pragmatic Sanction to the Burgundian domains of her father about a year before, appointed her brother-in-law, Charles of Lorraine, to be governor-general in her aunt's place, and he retained that post, to the great advantage of Belgium, for nearly forty years. He was deservedly known as the "Good Governor." The first years of his administration were stormy. During the Austrian War of Succession the country was conquered by the French, and for two years Marshal Saxe bore the title of governor-general, but it was restored to Austria by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). Belgium was undisturbed by the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), and during the long peace which followed enjoyed considerable prosperity. Charles of Lorraine thoroughly identified himself with the best interests of the country, and was the champion of its liberties, and though he had at times to make a stand against the imperialistic tendencies of the chancellor Kaunitz, he was able to rely on the steady support of the empress, who appreciated the wise and liberal policy of her brother-in-law. Although the Scheldt was still closed, Charles endeavoured by a large extension of the canal system to facilitate commercial intercourse, he encouraged agriculture, and was successful in restoring the prosperity of the country. He also did much for the advancement of learning, founding, among other institutions, the Academy of Science, and he consistently restrained the undue intervention of the church in secular affairs, and placed restrictions upon the accumulation of property in the hands of religious bodies.

The death of Charles of Lorraine preceded only by a few months that of Maria Theresa, whose son Joseph II. not only appointed his sister, the archduchess Maria Christine, governor-general, but visited Belgium in person and showed a great and active interest in its affairs. Here as elsewhere in his dominions his intentions were excellent, but his reforming zeal outran discretion, and his hasty and self-opinionated interferences with treaty rights and traditional privileges ended in provoking opposition and disaster. Finding the United Provinces hampered by a war with England, he seized the opportunity to try to get rid of the impediments placed upon Belgian development by the Barrier and other treaties with Holland. He was able to compel the Dutch to withdraw their garrisons from the Barrier towns, but was wholly unsuccessful in his high-handed attempt to free the navigation of the Scheldt. These efforts to coerce the Dutch, though marred by partial failure, were, however, calculated to win for Joseph II. popularity with his Belgian subjects; but it was far otherwise with his policy of internal reform. He offended the states by seeking to sweep away many of their inherited privileges and to change the time-honoured, if somewhat obsolete, system of civil government. He further excited the religious feelings of the people against him, by his edict of Tolerance (1780), and his later attempts at the reform of clerical abuses, which were pronounced to be an infraction of the Joyous Entry. Fierce opposition was aroused. Numbers of malcontents left the country and organized themselves as a military force in Holland. As the discontent became more general, the insurgents returned, took several forts, defeated the Austrians at Turnhout, and overran the country. On the 11th of December 1789, the people of Brussels rose against the Austrian garrison, and compelled it to capitulate, and, on the 27th, the states of Brabant declared their independence. The other provinces followed and, on the 11th of January 1790, the whole formed themselves into an independent state, under the name of the "Belgian United States." A few weeks later, on the 20th of February, Joseph II. died, his end hastened by chagrin at the utter failure of his well-meant efforts, and was succeeded by Leopold II.

The new emperor at once took steps to re-assert, if possible, his authority in Belgium

without having recourse to armed force. He offered the states, if the people would return to their allegiance, the restoration of their ancient constitution and a general amnesty. This, however, did not suit the views of the popular party, who, under the leadership of an advocate named Van der Noot, had possession of the reins of power, and were uplifted by their success. The terms offered in an imperial proclamation were rejected, and preparations were made to resist coercion by the *levée en masse* of a national army. When, however, in November 1790, a powerful Austrian force entered the country, there was practically little opposition to its advance. The popular leaders fled, the form of government, as it existed at the end of the reign of Maria Theresa, and an amnesty for past offences was proclaimed; a superficial pacification of the revolted provinces was effected, and Austrian rule re-established. It was destined to be short-lived. In 1792 the armies of revolutionary France assailed Austria at her weakest point by an invasion of Belgium. The battle of Jemappes (7th of November) made the French masters of the southern portion of the Austrian Netherlands; the battle of Fleurus (26th of June 1794) put an end to the rule of the Habsburgs over the Belgic provinces. The treaty of Campo Formio (1797) and the subsequent treaty of Lunéville (1801) confirmed the conquerors in the possession of the country, and Belgium became an integral part of France, being governed on the same footing, receiving the *Code Napoléon*, and sharing in the fortunes of the Republic and the Empire.

CHAPTER II

THE UNITED NETHERLANDS

AFTER the fall of Napoleon and the conclusion of the first peace of Paris (30th of May 1814) Belgium was indeed for some months placed under the administration of an Austrian governor-general, but it was shortly afterwards united with Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands. The sovereignty of the newly formed state was given to the prince of Orange, who mounted the throne (23rd of March 1815) under the title of William I. The congress of Vienna (31st of May 1815) determined the relations and fixed the boundaries of the kingdom; and the new constitution was promulgated on the 24th of August following, the king taking the oath at Brussels on the 27th of September.

From this date until the Belgian revolt of 1830, the history of Holland and Belgium is that of two portions of one political entity, but in the relations of those two portions were to be found from the very outset fundamental causes tending to disagreement and separation. The Dutch and Belgian provinces of the Netherlands had for one hundred and thirty years passed through totally different experiences, and had drifted farther and farther apart from one another in character, in habits, in ideas and above all in religion. In the south the policy of Alva and Philip II. had been wholly successful, and the Belgian people, Flemings and Walloons alike, were perhaps more devoted to the Catholic faith than any other in Europe. On the other hand the incorporation of the country for two decades in the French republic and empire had left deep traces on a considerable section of the population, the French language was commonly spoken and was exclusively used in the law courts and in all public proceedings, and French political theories had made many converts. The Fundamental Law promulgated by William I. aroused strong opposition among both the Catholic and Liberal parties in Belgium. The large powers granted to the king under the new constitution displeased the Liberals, who saw in its provision only a disguised form of personal government. The principle of liberty of worship and of the press, which it laid down, was so offensive to the Catholics that the bishops condemned it publicly, and in the Doctrinal Judgment actually forbade their flocks to take the oath. The "close and complete union," which was stipulated under the treaty of 1814, began under unfavourable auspices. Nevertheless the difficulties might have been smoothed away in the course of time, had the Belgians felt that the Dutch were treating them in a fair and conciliatory spirit. This, despite the undoubtedly good intentions of the king, was far from being the case. Belgium was regarded too much in the light of an annexed territory, handed over to Holland as compensation for the losses sustained by the Dutch in the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The idea that Holland was the predominant partner in the kingdom of the Netherlands was firmly rooted in the north and naturally provoked in the south the feeling that Belgium was being exploited for the benefit of the Dutch. The grievances of the Belgians were indeed very substantial. The seat of government was in Holland, the king was a Dutchman by birth and training, and a Calvinistic protestant by religion. Though the population of Belgium was 3,400,000 and that of Holland only a little more than 2,000,000 the two countries had equal representation in the second chamber of the states-general. Practically in all important legislative measures affecting the interests of the two countries the Dutch government were able to command a small but permanent majority. The use of the term "the Dutch Government" is strictly accurate, for the great majority of the public offices were filled by northerners. In 1830, of the

seven members of the ministry only one was a Belgian; in the home department out of 117 officials 11 only were Belgians; in the ministry of war 3 were Belgians out of 102; of the officers of the army 288 out of 1967. All the public establishments, the Bank, the military schools, were Dutch. That such was the case must not be entirely charged to partiality, still less to deliberate unfairness on the part of William I. The conduct of the king proves that he had a most sincere regard for the welfare of his Belgian subjects, and in his choice of measures and men his aim was to secure the prosperity of his new kingdom by a policy of unification. This was the object he had in view in his attempt to make Dutch, except in the Walloon districts, the official language for all public and judicial acts, and a knowledge of Dutch a necessary qualification for every person entering the public service. That the fierce opposition which this attempt aroused in the Flemish-speaking provinces was ill-considered and unwise, is shown by the fact that in recent years there has been a patriotic movement in these same provinces which has been successful in forcing the Belgian government to adopt Flemish (*i. e.* Dutch) as well as French for official usage. This Flemish movement is all in favour of establishing close relations with the sister people of the north. Moreover it cannot be gainsaid that Belgium during her union with Holland enjoyed a degree of prosperity that was quite remarkable. The mineral wealth of the country was largely developed, the iron manufactures of Liège made rapid advance, the woollen manufactures of Verviers received a similar impulse, and many large establishments were formed at Ghent and other places, where cotton goods were produced which rivalled those of England and surpassed those of France. The extensive colonial and foreign trade of the Dutch furnished them with markets, while the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt raised Antwerp once more to a place of high commercial importance. The government also did much in the way of improving the internal communications of the country, in repairing the roads and canals, in forming new ones, in deepening and widening rivers, and the like. Nor was the social and intellectual improvement of the people by any means neglected. A new university was formed at Liège, normal schools for the instruction of teachers were instituted, and numerous elementary schools and schools for higher instruction were established over the country. These measures for the furthering of education among the people on the part of a government mainly composed of Protestants were received with suspicion and disfavour by the priests, and still more the attempts subsequently made to regulate the education of the priests themselves. The establishment under the auspices of the king in 1825 of the Philosophical College at Louvain, and the requirement that every priest before ordination should spend two years in study there, gave great offence to the clerical party, and some of the bishops were prosecuted for the violence of their denunciations at this intrusion of the secular arm into the religious domain. With the view of terminating these differences the king in 1827 entered into a *concordat* with the pope, and an agreement was reached with regard to nominations to bishoprics, clerical education and other questions, which should have satisfied all reasonable men. But in 1828 the two extreme parties, the Catholic Ultramontanes and the revolutionary Liberals, in their common hatred to the Dutch régime, formed an alliance, the *union*, for the overthrow of the government. Petitions were sent in setting forth the Belgian grievances, demanding a separate administration for Belgium and a full concession of the liberties guaranteed by the constitution.

Matters were in this state when the news of the success of the July revolution of 1830 at Paris reached Brussels, at this time a city of refuge for the intriguing and discontented of almost every country of Europe. The first outbreak took place on the 25th of August, the anniversary of the king's accession. An opera called *La Muette*, which abounds in appeals to liberty, was played, and the audience were so excited that they rushed out into the street crying, "Imitons les Parisiens!" A mob speedily gathered together, who proceeded to destroy or damage a number of public buildings and the private residences of unpopular officials. The troops were few in number and offered no opposition to the mob, but a burgher guard was enrolled among the influential and middle-class citizens for the protection of life and property. The intelligence of these events in the capital soon spread through the provinces; and in most of the large towns similar scenes were enacted, beginning with plunderings and outrages, followed by the institution of burgher guards for the maintenance of peace. The leading men of Brussels were most anxious not to push matters to extremities. They demanded the dismissal of the specially obnoxious minister, Van Maanen, and a separate administration for Belgium. The government, however, could not make up their minds what course to pursue, and by allowing things to drift ended by converting a popular riot into a national revolt. The heir apparent, the prince of Orange, was sent on a peaceful mission to Brussels, but furnished with such limited powers, as under the circumstances were utterly inadequate. He did his best to get at the real facts, and after a number of conferences with the leaders became so convinced that nothing but a separate administration of the two countries would restore tranquillity that he promised to use his influence with his father to bring about that object—on receiving assurances that the personal union under the house of Orange would be maintained. The king summoned an extraordinary session of the states-general, which met at the Hague on the 13th of September and was opened by a speech from the throne,



Antwerp, viewed from the Scheldt.

ANTWERP.

The city is Belgium's chief centre of commerce and one of her strongest fortresses. Its history can be traced back to the 4th century of the Christian era.

which was firm and temperate, but by no means definite. The proceedings were dilatory, and the attitude of the Dutch deputies exceedingly exasperating. The result was that the moderate party in Belgium quickly lost their influence, and those in favour of violent measures prevailed. Meanwhile although the states were still sitting at the Hague, an army of 14,000 troops under the command of Prince Frederick, second son of the king, was gradually approaching Brussels. It was hoped that the inhabitants would welcome the prince and that a display of armed force would speedily restore order. After much unnecessary delay, at a time when prompt action was required, the prince on the 23rd of September entered Brussels and, with little opposition, occupied the upper or court portion of it, but when they attempted to advance into the lower town the troops found the streets barricaded and defended by citizens in arms. Desultory fighting between the soldiers and the insurgents continued for three days until, finding that he was making no headway, the prince ordered a retreat. The news spread like wildfire through the country, and the principal towns declared for separation. A provisional government was formed at Brussels, which declared Belgium to be an independent state, and summoned a national congress to establish a system of government. King William now did his utmost to avoid a rupture, and sent the prince of Orange to Antwerp to promise that Belgium should have a separate administration; but it was too late. Antwerp was the only important place that remained in the hands of the Dutch, and the army on retreating from Brussels had fallen back on this town. At the end of October an insurgent army had arrived before the gates, which were opened by the populace to receive them, and the troops, under General Chassé, retired within the citadel. The general ordered a bombardment of the town for two days, destroying a number of houses and large quantities of merchandise. This act served still further to inflame the minds of the Belgians against the Dutch.

A convention of the representatives of the five great powers met in London in the beginning of November, at the request of the king of the Netherlands, and both sides were brought to consent to a cessation of hostilities. On the 10th of November the National Congress, consisting of 200 deputies, met at Brussels and came to three important decisions: (1) the independence of the country—carried unanimously; (2) a constitutional hereditary monarchy—174 votes against 13; (3) the perpetual exclusion of the Orange-Nassau family—161 votes against 28. On the 20th of December the conference of London proclaimed the dissolution of the kingdom of the Netherlands, but claimed the right of regulating the conditions under which it should take place. On the 28th of January 1831, the congress proceeded to the election of a king, and out of a number of candidates the choice fell on the duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe, but he declined the office. The congress then elected Baron Surlet de Chokier to the temporary post of regent, and proceeded to draw up a constitution on the British parliamentary pattern. The constitution expressly declared that the king has no powers except those formally assigned to him. Ministers were to be appointed by him, but be responsible to the chambers. The legislature was composed of two chambers—the senate and the chamber of deputies. Both chambers were elected by the same voters, but senators required a property qualification,—the payment of at least 2000 florins in taxes. Senators and deputies received salaries. The franchise was for that time a low one—every one who paid at least 20 florins in taxes had a vote. The choice of a king was more difficult than that of drawing up a constitution. It was desirable that the new sovereign should be able to count upon the friendly support of the great powers, and yet not be actually a member of their reigning dynasties. It was from fear of arousing the susceptibilities of neighbouring states, especially Great Britain, that Louis Philippe had refused to sanction the election of his son. It was for this reason that the name of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of Princess Charlotte of England, had not been placed among the candidates in January. Overtures were, however, made to him, as soon as it was understood that, as the result of private negotiations at the London conference, the selection of this prince would be favourably received both by Great Britain and France. Leopold signified his readiness to accept the crown after having first ascertained that he would have the support of the great powers in bringing about a satisfactory settlement with Holland on those points which he considered essential to the security and welfare of the new kingdom. The election took place on the 4th of June, when 152 votes out of 196, four being absent, determined that Leopold should be proclaimed king of the Belgians, under the express condition that he "would accept the constitution and swear to maintain the national independence and territorial integrity." Leopold made his public entry into Brussels, on the 21st, and subsequently visited other parts of the kingdom, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of loyalty and respect.

At this juncture news suddenly arrived that the Dutch were preparing to invade the country with a large army. It comprised 45,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry with 72 pieces of artillery, while Leopold could scarcely bring forward 25,000 men to oppose it. On the 2nd of August the whole of the Dutch army had crossed the frontier; Leopold collected his forces, such as they were, near Louvain in order to cover his capital. The two armies met on the 9th of August. The undisciplined Belgians, despite the personal efforts of their king, were speedily routed, and Leopold and his staff narrowly escaped capture. He, however, made good his retreat to the capital, and, on the advance of a French army,

the prince of Orange did not deem it prudent to push on farther. A convention was concluded between him and the French general, in consequence of which he returned to Holland and the French likewise recrossed the frontier. Leopold now proceeded with vigour to strengthen his position and to restore order and confidence. French officers were selected for the training and disciplining of the army, the civil list was arranged with economy and order, and reforms were introduced into the public service and system of administration. He kept on the best of terms, though a Protestant, with the Roman Catholic clergy and nobility, and his subsequent marriage with the daughter of the French king (9th of August 1832), and the contract that the children of the marriage should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, did much to inspire confidence in his good intentions.

Meanwhile the conference in London had drawn up the project of a treaty for the separation of Holland and Belgium, which was declared "to be final and irrevocable." The conditions were far less favourable to Belgium than had been hoped, and it was not without much heart-burning and considerable opposition, that the senate and chamber of deputies gave their assent to them. The treaty, which contained 24 articles, was signed on the 15th of November 1831. By these articles the grand-duchy of Luxemburg was divided, but the king of Holland retained possession of the fortress of Luxemburg, and also received a portion of Limburg to compensate him for the part of Luxemburg assigned to Belgium. The district of Maestricht was likewise partitioned, but the fortress remained Dutch. The Scheldt was declared open to the commerce of both countries. The national debt was divided. The powers recognized the independence of Belgium, "as a neutral state."

This agreement was ratified by the Belgian and French sovereigns on the 20th and 24th of November, by the British on the 6th of December, but the Austrian and Prussian and Russian governments, whose sympathies were with the "legitimate" King William rather than with a prince who owed his crown to a revolution, did not give their ratification till some five months later. Even then King William remained obdurate, refused to sign and continued to keep possession of Antwerp. After fruitless efforts on the part of the great powers to obtain his acquiescence, France and Great Britain resolved to have recourse to force. On the 5th of November their combined fleets sailed for the coast of Holland, and, on the 18th, a French army of 60,000 men, under the command of Marshal Gérard, crossed the Belgian frontier to besiege Antwerp. The Dutch garrison capitulated on the 23rd of December, and on the 31st the town was handed over to the Belgians, and the French troops withdrew across the frontier. The Dutch, however, still held two forts, which enabled them to command the navigation of the Scheldt, and these they stubbornly refused to yield. Belgium therefore kept possession of Limburg and Luxemburg, except the fortress of Luxemburg, which as a fortress of the German confederation was, under the terms of the treaty of Vienna, garrisoned by Prussian troops. These territories were treated in every way as a part of Belgium, and sent representatives to the chambers. Great indignation was therefore felt at the idea of giving them up, when Holland (14th of March 1838) signified its readiness to accept the conditions of the treaty. The chambers argued that Belgium had been induced to agree to the twenty-four articles in 1832 in the hope of thereby at once terminating all harassing disputes, but as Holland refused then to accept them, the conditions were no longer binding and the circumstances were now quite changed. They urged that Luxemburg in fact formed an integral part of Belgium and that the people were totally opposed to a union with Holland. They offered to pay for the territory in dispute, but the treaty gave them no right of purchase, and the proposal was not entertained. Addresses were unanimously voted urging the king to resist separation, great excitement was aroused throughout the country and preparations were made for war. But the firmness of the allied powers and their determination to uphold the conditions of the treaty compelled the king most reluctantly to submit to the inevitable. The treaty was signed in London on the 19th of April 1839. It saddled Belgium with a portion of Holland's debt, and a severe financial crisis followed.



By courtesy of the Belgian State Railways.

HOTEL DE VILLE, BRUSSELS.

The Hotel de Ville, with its graceful tower, 360 feet in height, crowned by a golden copper figure of St. Michael, was built in the 15th century.

CHAPTER III

THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

THE Belgian revolution owed its success to the union of the Catholic and Liberal parties; and the king had been very careful to maintain the alliance between them. This continued to be the character of the government till 1840, but by degrees it had been growing more and more conservative, and was giving rise to dissatisfaction. A ministry was formed on more liberal principles, but it clashed with the Catholic aristocracy, who had the majority in the senate. A neutral ministry under M. Charles Nothomb was then formed. In 1842 it carried a new law of primary instruction, which aroused the dislike of the anti-clerical Liberals. The Nothomb ministry retired in 1845. In March 1846 the king formed a purely Catholic ministry, but it was fiercely attacked by the Liberals, who had for several years been steadily organizing. A congress was summoned to meet at Brussels (14th of June 1846) composed of delegates from the different Liberal associations throughout the country. Three hundred and twenty delegates met and drew up an Act of Federation and a programme of reforms. The election of 1847 gave a majority to the Liberals and a purely Liberal ministry was formed, and from this date onwards it has been the constitutional practice in Belgium to choose a homogeneous ministry from the party which possesses a working majority in the chamber. In 1848 a new electoral law was passed, which lowered the franchise to 20 florins' worth of property and doubled the number of electors. Hence it came to pass that Belgium passed safely through the crisis of the French revolution of 1848. The extreme democratic and socialistic party made with French aid some spasmodic efforts to stir up a revolutionary movement, but they met with no popular sympathy; the throne of Leopold stood firmly based upon the trust and respect of the Belgian nation for the wisdom and moderation of their king.

The attention of the government was now largely directed to the stimulating of private industry and the carrying out of public works of great practical utility, such as the extension of railways and the opening up of other internal means of communication. Commercial treaties were also entered into with various countries with the view of providing additional outlets for industrial products. The king also sought as much as possible to remove from the domain of politics every irritating question, believing that a union of the different parties was most for the advantage of the state. In 1850 the question of middle-class education was settled. In 1852 the Liberal cabinet was overthrown and a ministry of conciliation was formed. A bill was passed authorizing the army to be raised to 100,000 men including reserve. The elections of 1854 modified the parliamentary situation by increasing the strength of the Conservatives; the ministry resigned and a new one was formed, under Pierre de Decker, of moderate Catholics and Progressives. In 1857 the government of M. de Decker brought in a bill to establish "the liberty of charity," but in reality to place the administration of charities in the hands of the priesthood. This led to a violent agitation throughout the kingdom and the military had to be called out. Eventually the bill was withdrawn, the ministers resigned and a Liberal ministry was formed under M. Charles Rogier. In 1860 the communal *octrois* or duties on articles of food brought into the towns was abolished; in 1863 the navigation of the Scheldt was made free, and a treaty of commerce established with England. The elections of July 1864 gave a majority to the Liberals, and M. Rogier continued in office.

On the 10th of December 1865 King Leopold died, after a reign of thirty-four

years. He was greatly beloved by his people, and to him Belgium owed much, for in difficult circumstances and critical times he had managed its affairs with great tact and judgment. He was succeeded by his eldest son Leopold II., who was immediately proclaimed king and took the oath to the constitution on the 17th of December. On the outbreak of war between France and Germany in 1870, Belgium saw the difficulty and danger of her position, and lost no time in providing for contingencies. A large war credit was voted, the strength of the army was raised and strong bodies of troops were moved to the frontier. The feeling of danger to Belgium also caused great excitement in England. The British government declared its intention to maintain the integrity of Belgium in accordance with the treaty of 1839, and it induced the two belligerent powers to agree not to violate the neutrality of Belgian territory. A considerable portion of the French army routed at Sedan did indeed seek refuge across the frontier; but they laid down their arms according to convention, and were duly "interned."

In 1870 the Liberal party, which had been in power for thirteen years, was overthrown by a union of the Catholics with a number of Liberal dissentients to whom the policy of the government had given offence, and a Catholic cabinet, at the head of which was Baron Jules Joseph d'Anethan, took office. At the election of August 1870, the Catholics obtained a majority in both chambers. They increased their power considerably by reducing the voting qualification for electors to provincial councils to 20 f., and to communal councils to 10 f., and also by recognizing the importance of what was styled "the Flemish Movement." Hitherto French had been the official language of the states. The use of Flemish in public documents, in judicial procedure and in official correspondence was hereafter required in the Flemish provinces, and Belgium became officially bi-lingual. It was, as has been already pointed out, a reversion to the policy of the Dutch king, which in 1830 had been so strongly denounced by the leaders of the Belgian revolution, and its object was the same, *i. e.* to prevent *frenchification* of a population that was Teutonic by race and speech. In 1871 M. Malou had become the head of a cabinet of moderate Catholics, and he retained office till 1878. This was the period of the struggle between the pope and the Italian government, and the German *Kulturkampf*. The Belgian Ultramontanes agitated strongly in favour of the re-establishment of the temporal power and against the policy of Bismarck. Though discountenanced by the ministry, the violence of the Ultra-clericals compassed its downfall. They passed a law adopting the ballot in 1877, but at the election of the following year a Liberal majority was returned.

The new cabinet, under M. Frère-Orban, devoted itself solely to the settlement of the educational system. Hitherto since 1842 in all primary schools instruction by the clergy in the Catholic faith was obligatory, children belonging to other persuasions being dispensed from attendance. In 1879 a bill was passed for the secularization of primary education; but an attempt was made to conciliate the clergy by Art. 4, which enacted—"religious instruction is relegated to the care of families and the clergy of the various creeds. A place in the school may be put at their disposal where the children may receive religious instruction," at hours other than those set apart for regular education. The bill likewise provided for a rigorous inspection of the communal schools. The passing of this law was met by the clergy by uncompromising resistance. The bishops ordered that absolution be refused to teachers in the schools "*sans Dieu*," and to the parents who sent their children to them, and urged the establishment of private Catholic schools. All over Belgium the agitation spread, and the clergy, who were practically independent of state control, gained the victory. In November 1879 it was calculated that there were but 240,000 scholars in the secularized schools against 370,000 in the Catholic schools. In Flanders over 80 % of the children attended the Catholic schools. The government appealed to the pope, but the Holy See declined to take any action, and so great was the embitterment that the Belgian minister at the Vatican and the papal nuncio at Brussels were recalled, and in 1880 the clergy refused to associate themselves with the fêtes of the national jubilee. In order to emerge victorious in such a struggle the Liberal party had need of all their strength, but a split took place between the sections known as the *doctrinaires* and the *progressists*, on the question of an extension of the franchise, and at the election of 1884 the Catholics carried all before them at the polls. From 1884 up to the present time the clerical party have maintained their supremacy.

A Catholic administration under M. Malou at once took in hand the schools question. A law was passed, despite violent protests from the Liberals, which enacted that the communes might maintain the private Catholic schools established since 1879 and suppress unsectarian schools at their pleasure. They might retain at least one unsectarian or adopt one Catholic school, where 25 heads of families demanded it. The state subsidized all the communal schools, Catholic and unsectarian alike. Under this law in all districts under clerical control the unsectarian schools were abolished. In October 1884, M. Beer-naert replaced M. Malou as prime minister, and retained that post for the following ten years. He had in 1886 a troublesome and dangerous situation to deal with. Socialism had become a political force in the land. Socialism of a German type had taken deep root among the working men of the Flemish towns, especially at Ghent and Brussels; socialism of a French revolutionary type among the Walloon miners and factory hands. On the

18th of March 1886, a socialist rising suddenly burst out at Liège, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Paris Commune, and rapidly spread in other industrial centres of the Walloon districts. Thousands of workmen went on strike, demanding better wages and the suffrage. The ministry acted promptly and with vigour, the outbreak was suppressed by the employment of the military and order was restored. But as soon as this was accomplished the government opened a comprehensive inquiry into the causes of dissatisfaction, which served as the basis of numerous social laws, and led eventually to the establishment of universal suffrage and the substitution in Belgium of a democratic for a middle-class régime. It was not effected till several years had been spent in long parliamentary discussions, by demonstrations on the part of the supporters of franchise revision and by strikes of a political tendency. At last the senate and chamber declared, May 1892, that the time for a revision of certain articles of the constitution had come. As prescribed by the constitution, a dissolution took place and two new chambers were elected. The Catholics had a majority in both, but not enough to enable them to dispense with the assistance of the Liberals, the constitution requiring for every revision a two-thirds majority. The bills proposed for extending the franchise were all rejected (April 11th and 12th). Thereupon the council of the Labour party proclaimed a general strike. Fifty thousand workmen struck, in Brussels there were violent demonstrations, and the agitation assumed generally a dangerous aspect. Both the government and the opposition in the chambers saw that delay was impossible, and that revision must be carried out. Agreement was reached by the acceptance of a compromise proposed by M. Albert Nyssens, Catholic deputy and professor of penal procedure and commercial law at the university of Louvain, and on the 18th of April the chamber adopted an electoral system until then unknown—*le suffrage universel plural*. The citizen in order to possess a vote for the election of representatives to the chambers was to be of a *minimum* age of twenty-five years, and of thirty years for the election of senators and provincial and communal councillors. For the four categories of elections a supplementary vote was given to (a) citizens who having attained the age of thirty-five years, and being married or widowers with children, paid at least 5 f. income tax, and (b) to citizens of the age of twenty-five years possessing real estate to the value of 2000 f. or Belgian state securities yielding an income of at least 100 f. Two supplementary votes were bestowed upon citizens having certain educational certificates, or discharging functions or following professions implying their possession. This elaborate system was only carried into law after considerable and violent opposition in the sessions of 1894 and 1895. It was chiefly the work of the ministry of M. de Burlet, who succeeded to the place of M. Beernaert in March 1894.

The composition of the elected bodies for the years 1894–1895 was:—for the chamber of representatives 1,354,891 electors with 2,085,605 votes, for the senate and provincial councils 1,148,433 electors with 1,856,838 votes. The result of the first election in October 1894 was to give the Catholic party an overwhelming majority. The old Liberal party almost disappeared, while the Walloon provinces returned a number of Socialists. In February 1896 M. de Burlet, being in bad health, transferred the direction of the government to M. Smet de Naeyer. The election of 1894 had given the Liberals a much smaller number of seats than they ought to have had according to the number of votes they polled, and a cry arose for the establishment of proportional representation. Both sides felt that reform was again necessary, but the Catholic majority disagreed among themselves as to the form it should take. In 1899 M. Smet de Naeyer gave place as head of the ministry to M. van den Peereboom. But the proposals of the latter met with organized obstruction on the part of the Socialist deputies, and after a few months' tenure of office he gave way to M. Smet de Naeyer once more. The new cabinet at once (August 1899) introduced a bill giving complete proportional representation in parliamentary elections to all the arrondissements, and it was passed despite the defection of a number of Catholic deputies led by M. Woeste. The election in May 1900 resulted in the return of a substantial (though reduced) Catholic majority in both chambers.

During this period of Catholic ascendancy social legislation was not neglected. Among the enactments the following are the most important:—the institution of industrial and labour councils, composed of employers and employés, and of a superior council, formed of officials, workmen and employers (1887); laws assisting the erection of workmen's dwellings and supervising the labour of women and children (1889); laws for ameliorating the system of Friendly Societies (1890); laws regulating workshops (1896); conferring corporate rights on trades' unions (1898); guaranteeing the security and health of working men during hours of labour (1899). In 1900 laws were passed regulating the contract of labour, placing the workman on a footing of perfect equality with his employer, assuring the married woman free control of her savings, and organizing a system of old-age pensions. Primary education was dealt with in 1895 by a law, which made religious instruction obligatory, and extended state support to all schools that satisfied certain conditions. In 1899 there were in Belgium 6674 subsidized schools, having 775,000 scholars out of a total of 950,000 children of school age. Only 68,000 did not receive religious instruction. The Catholic party also strove to mitigate the principle of obligatory military service by encouraging the system of volunteering and by a reduction of the time of active service and of the number with the colours.

In 1905 the 75th anniversary of Belgian independence was celebrated, and there was a great manifestation of loyalty to King Leopold II. for the wisdom and prudence shown by him during his long reign. Owing to dissensions among the Catholic and Conservative party on the subject of military service and the fortification of Antwerp, their majority in the chamber in 1904 fell from 26 to 20, that in the senate from 16 to 12. The partial election in 1906 reduced the majority in the chamber to 12, while the partial election in 1908 brought the majority down to 8. The Smet de Naeyer ministry which had held office since 1900 was defeated in April 1907 in a debate on the mining law over a proposal concerning the length of the working day. A new cabinet was formed on the 2nd of May following under the presidency of M. de Trooz, who had been minister of the interior under M. Smet de Naeyer, and who retained that portfolio in conjunction with the premiership. M. de Trooz died on the 31st of December 1907, and was succeeded by M. Schollaert, president of the chamber. The count of Flanders, brother of the king, died on the 17th of November 1905, leaving his son Albert heir to the throne.

The Congo question had meanwhile become an acute one in Belgium. The personal interest taken by Leopold II. in the exploration and commercial development of the equatorial regions of Africa had led, in the creation of the Congo Free State, to results which had originally not been anticipated. The *Comité des Études du Haut Congo*, formed in 1878 at the instance of the king and mainly financed by him, had developed into the International Association of the Congo, of which a Belgian officer, Colonel M. Strauch, was president. Through the efforts in Africa of H. M. Stanley a rudimentary state was created, and through the efforts of King Leopold in Europe the International Association was recognized during 1884-1885 by the powers as an independent state. Declarations to this effect were exchanged between the Belgian government and the association on the 23rd of February 1885. In April of the same year the Belgian chambers authorized the king to be the chief of the state founded by the association, which had already taken the name of *État Indépendant du Congo*. The union between Belgium and the new state was declared to be purely personal, but its European headquarters were in Brussels, its officials, in the course of time, became almost exclusively Belgian, and financially and commercially the connexion between the two countries became increasingly close. In 1889 King Leopold announced that he had by his will bequeathed the Congo state to Belgium, and in 1890 the Belgian government, in return for financial help, acquired the right of annexing the country under certain conditions. At later dates definite proposals for immediate annexation were considered but not adopted, the king showing a strong disinclination to cede the state, while among the mass of the Belgians the disinclination to annex was equally strong. It was not until terrible reports as to the misgovernment of the Congo created a strong agitation for reform in Great Britain, America and other countries responsible for having aided in the creation of the state, that public opinion in Belgium seriously concerned itself with the subject. The result was that in November 1907 a new treaty of cession was presented to the Belgian chambers, while in March 1908 an additional act modified one of the most objectionable features of the treaty—a clause by which the king retained control of the revenue of a vast territory within the Congo which he had declared to be his private property. A colonial law, also submitted to the chambers, secured for Belgium in case of annexation complete parliamentary control over the Congo state, and the bill for annexation was finally passed in September 1908.

In December 1909 Leopold died and was succeeded on December 23rd by his nephew, who assumed the crown as Albert I. There has been little change in Belgian policy with the new reign, though in character King Albert is altogether unlike his predecessor. The new king's civil list, as provided by the Constitution (Art. 77), was fixed for the entire reign, at the same amount as that of Leopold II.—£132,000 per annum.

The government has remained in the hands of the Catholic party. Up to the end of 1912 not a single Socialist burgomaster had been appointed by the king, but in most large cities a Liberal fills that office.

By-elections during 1910 had to some extent pulled down the Catholic majority in parliament, but at the general elections of 1912 they were returned in still greater force, a result all the more striking as a sign of public opinion, considering that Proportional Representation is supposed to act as a check on sudden revulsions of this kind. On June 17th the Cabinet of M. Schollaert, who had been premier since 1908, was obliged to resign over an Education Bill. Political feeling went against the proposed plan for dividing state grants between official and voluntary schools (*écoles libres*) according to the number of pupils. The educational test system (*bon scolaire*) is a novel form of the subsidized voluntarism (*la liberté subsidée*) in high favour with the Catholic party, and already put in practice by them in social legislation. Liberals and Socialists together made a stand against it, and at the same time started a campaign against plural voting, demanding that Art. 47 of the Constitution be revised and Manhood Suffrage, pure and simple, substituted. Under the system of proportional representation in Belgium, it should be noted, supplementary votes are allotted as follows:—one extra vote to heads of families of the age of thirty-five, and to voters possessed either of a property qualification or an income above a certain amount; while two extra votes are given for official status

or the higher educational diplomas; but no individual may have more than three votes.

There were 1,721,755 qualified electors on the roll of voters for the chamber in 1912; and 1,460,236 comprised the electorate for the senate (for which the age qualification of voters has been raised from twenty-five to thirty); but thanks to the plural system, the total number of votes for the chamber was 2,763,513 and 2,475,679 for the senate. In the new parliament there are 101 Catholics, 45 Liberals, 38 Socialists and 2 Christian-Democrats; while in the senate there are 54 Catholics, 31 Liberals and 8 Socialist-Radicals; but to these must be added the number of senators returned by the provincial councils—16 Catholics, 7 Liberals and 4 Socialists. There was no sign of any reappearance of the educational test in the programme of the new government under the leadership of Baron Ch. de Broqueville, who succeeded M. Schollaert. Their policy seemed to be to improve the professional schools, to increase the attendances, and to prolong school-days by raising the age for child labour to 14 or 15.

CHAPTER IV

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND POPULATION

BELGIUM (Fr. *Belgique* ; Flem. *Belgie*), is an independent, constitutional and neutral state occupying an important position in north-west Europe. It was formerly part of the Low Countries or Netherlands. Although the name Belgium only came into general use with the foundation of the modern kingdom in 1830, its derivation from ancient times is clear and incontrovertible. Beginning with the Belgae and the Gallia Belgica of the Romans, the use of the adjective to distinguish the inhabitants of the south Netherlands can be traced through all stages of subsequent history. During the Crusades, and in the middle ages, the term *Belgicae principes* is of frequent occurrence, and when in 1790 the Walloons rose against Austria during what was called the Brabant revolution, their leaders proposed to give the country the name of Belgique. Again in 1814, on the expulsion of the French, when there was much talk of founding an independent state, the same name was suggested for it. It was not till sixteen years later, on the collapse of the united kingdom of the Netherlands, that the occasion presented itself for giving effect to this proposal. For the explanation of the English form of the name it may be mentioned that Belgium was a canton of what had been the Nervian country in the time of the Roman occupation.

Belgium lies between $49^{\circ} 30'$ and $51^{\circ} 30'$ N., and $2^{\circ} 32'$ and $6^{\circ} 7'$ E., and on the land side is bounded by Holland on the N. and N.E., by Prussia and the grand duchy of Luxemburg on the E. and S.E., and by France on the S. Its land frontiers measure 793 m., divided as follows :—with Holland 269 m., with Prussia 60 m., with the grand duchy 80 m. and with France 384 m. In addition it has a sea-coast of 42 m. The western portion of Belgium, consisting of the two Flanders, Antwerp and parts of Brabant and Hainaut, is flat, being little above the level of the sea ; and indeed at one point near Furnes it is 7 ft. below it. The same description applies more or less to the north-east, but in the south of Hainaut and the greater part of Brabant the general level of the country is about 300 ft. above the sea, with altitudes rising to more than 600 ft. South of the Meuse, and in the district distinguished by the appellation “Between Sambre and Meuse,” the level is still greater, and the whole of the province of Luxemburg is above 500 ft., with altitudes up to 1650 ft. In the south-eastern part of the province of Liège there are several points exceeding 2000 ft. The highest of these is the Baraque de Michel close to the Prussian frontier, with an altitude of 2190 ft. The Baraque de Fraiture, north-east of La Roche, is over 2000 ft. While the greater part of western and northern Belgium is devoid of the picturesque, the Ardennes and the Fagnes districts of “Between Sambre and Meuse” and Liège contain much pleasant and some romantic scenery. The principal charm of this region is derived from its fine and extensive woods, of which that called St Hubert is the best known. There are no lakes in Belgium, but otherwise it is exceedingly well watered, being traversed by the Meuse for the greater part of its course, as well as by the Scheldt and the Sambre. The numerous affluents of these rivers, such as the Lys, Dyle, Dender, Ourthe, Amblève, Vesdre, Lesse and Semois, provide a system of waterways almost unique in Europe. The canals of Belgium are scarcely less numerous or important than those of Holland, especially in Flanders, where they give a distinctive character to the country. But the most striking feature in Belgium, where so much is modern, utilitarian and ugly, is found in the older cities with their relics of medieval greatness, and their record of ancient fame. These, in their order of interest, are Bruges, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Ghent, Ypres,

Courtrai, Tournai, Furnes, Oudenarde and Liège. It is to them rather than to the sylvan scenes of the Ardennes that travellers and tourists flock.

The climate may be described as temperate and approximating to that of southern England, but it is somewhat hotter in summer and a little colder in winter. In the Ardennes, owing to the great elevation, the winters are more severe.

Area and Population.—The area comprises 2,945,503 hectares, or about 11,373 English sq. m., and the total population in December 1904¹ was 7,074,910, giving an average of 600 per sq. m.

The Nine Provinces.	Area in English sq. m.	Population at end of 1904.	Population per sq. m. 1904.
Antwerp . .	1093	888,980	813·3
Brabant . .	1268	1,366,389	1077·59
Flanders E. .	1158	1,078,507	931·35
Flanders W. .	1249	845,732	677·8
Hainaut . .	1437	1,192,967	830·18
Liège . .	1117	863,254	772·8
Limburg . .	931	255,359	274·28
Luxemburg . .	1706	225,963	132·45
Namur . .	1414	357,759	253
Total . .	11,373	7,074,910	622

The population was made up of 3,514,491 males and 3,560,419 females. The rate at which the population has increased is shown as follows:—From 1880 to 1890 the increase was at the rate annually of 54,931, from 1890 to 1900 at the rate of 62,421, and for the five years from 1900 to 1904 at the rate of 66,200. In 1831 the population of Belgium was 3,785,814, so that in 75 years it had not quite doubled. The following table gives the total births and deaths in certain years since 1880:—

Year.	Total births.	Total deaths.	Excess of births.
1880 . .	171,864	123,323	48,541
1895 . .	183,015	125,148	57,867
1900 . .	193,789	129,046	64,743
1904 . .	191,721	119,506	72,215

These figures show that the births were 23,674 more in 1904 than in 1880, while the deaths were nearly 4000 fewer, with a population that had increased from 5½ to 7 millions. Of 191,721 births in 1904, 12,887 or 6·7 % were illegitimate. Statistics of recent years show a slight increase in legitimate and a slight decrease in illegitimate births.

The emigration of Belgians from their country is small and reveals little variation. In 1900, 13,492 emigrated, and in 1904 the total rose only to 14,752. Of Belgians living abroad it is estimated that 400,000 reside in France, 15,000 in Holland, 12,000 in Germany and 4600 in Great Britain. The number of Belgians in the Congo State in 1904 was 1505. The number of foreigners resident in Belgium in 1900 with their nationalities were Germans, 42,079; English, 5096; French, 85,735; Dutch, 54,491; Luxemburgers, 9762; and all other nationalities, 14,411.

With regard to the languages spoken by the people of Belgium the following comparative table gives the return for the three censuses of 1880, 1890 and 1900:—

	1880.	1890.	1900.
French only . . .	2,230,316	2,485,072	2,574,805
Flemish only . . .	2,485,384	2,744,271	2,822,005
German only . . .	39,550	32,206	28,314
French and Flemish .	423,752	700,997	801,587
French and German .	35,250	58,590	66,447
Flemish and German .	2,956	7,028	7,238
The three languages .	13,331	13,185	42,889

¹ The total population of Belgium, according to the census returns of December 31, 1910, was 7,423,784, an increase of 10·91 per cent. since the census of 1900. Of these, 2,822,005

The language question looms large from time to time in the history of Belgium. The first half-century of national independence was marked by a French reaction after the "Flamandisation" policy pursued under the Netherlands government (1815 to 1830). A counter reaction, not yet spent, tends to magnify the political importance of the Flemish element. Flemish is put on a so-called equality with French in the secondary schools, by the Law of May 12, 1910, which inclines to treat French as a foreign tongue in Flemish-speaking districts and vice versa. In practice, the importance of this law is discounted; for firstly, in the city of Brussels and its suburbs the choice of the principal language is left to the parents; and secondly, the law naturally is not enforced in the voluntary schools (*écoles libres*) which flourish so largely in Belgium. In these French predominates as before. There has been some talk of "Flamandising" Ghent University, either wholly or in part, but so far nothing has been done.

spoke Flemish, and 2,574,805 French; 700,997 spoke both Flemish and French, and there was besides a very small minority who spoke German. The population of the four chief cities, with their "agglomérations" (Salenbe) were:—Brussels 720,347; Antwerp 398,255; Liège 242,357; Ghent 210,428.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Mines and Industry.—The principal mineral produced in Belgium is coal. This is found in the Borinage district near Mons and in the neighbourhood of Liège, but the working of an entirely new coal-field, which promises to attain vast dimensions, was commenced in 1906 in the Campine district of the province of Limburg. The coal mines of Belgium give employment to nearly 150,000 persons, and for some years the average output has exceeded 22,000,000 tons. Other minerals are iron, manganese, lead and zinc. The iron mines produce much less than formerly, and the want of iron is a grave defect in Belgian prosperity, as about £5,000,000 sterling worth of iron has to be imported annually, chiefly from French Lorraine. The chief metal industry of the country is represented by the iron and steel works of Charleroi and Liège. Belgium is particularly rich in quarries of marble, granite and slate. Ghent is the capital of the textile industry, and all the towns of Flanders are actively engaged in producing woollen and cotton materials and in lace manufacture. The bulk of the population is, however, engaged in agriculture, and the extent of land under cultivation of all kinds is about 6½ million acres.

Commerce.—The trade returns for 1904 were as follows :—

Imports—

General Commerce	4,426,400,000 francs
Special Commerce (included in General Commerce)	2,782,200,000 „

Exports—

General Commerce	3,849,100,000 „
Special Commerce (included in General Commerce)	2,183,300,000 „

The general commerce includes goods in transit across Belgium, the special commerce takes into account only the produce and the consumption of Belgium itself. The trade of Belgium has more than trebled as regards both imports and exports since 1870. The following table shows the amount of exports and imports between Belgium and the more important foreign states :—

	Imports.	Exports.
France	465,684,000 francs	346,670,000 francs
Germany	351,025,000 „	505,473,000 „
England	335,404,000 „	392,324,000 „
Holland	240,873,000 „	268,781,000 „
United States	222,301,000 „	86,324,000 „
Russia	212,119,000 „	26,671,000 „
Argentina	198,913,000 „	41,508,000 „
British India	141,669,000 „	25,860,000 „
Rumania	102,174,000 „	3,949,000 „
Australia	58,190,000 „	12,087,000 „
Congo State	53,100,000 „	14,049,000 „
China.	8,770,000 „	25,546,000 „

In the relative magnitude of the annual value of its commerce, excluding that in transit, Belgium stands sixth among the nations of the world, following Great Britain, the United States, Germany, France and Holland. The principal imports are food supplies and raw material such as cotton, wool, silk, flax, hemp and jute. Among minerals, iron ore, sulphur, copper, coal, tin, lead and diamonds are the most imported. The exports of greatest value are textiles, lace, coal, coke, briquette, glass, machinery, railway material and fire-arms.

The commercial prosperity of Belgium was brilliantly illustrated by the Universal Exhibition held at Brussels in 1910. The following are the most recent trade returns for "special" commerce (exclusive, that is, of goods received for transit across Belgium). The imports in 1911 reached £169,105,110; and exports, £135,101,700. Trade with Great Britain for the same period showed imports £20,492,016 and exports £18,145,553. With the United States the import trade amounted to £9,166,409, and the export to £4,644,740. The transit trade was valued at nearly £92,000,000. The total tonnage of ships arriving at Antwerp in the same year (1911) amounted to 12,625,165. Nevertheless, the exchequer is not in a very flourishing condition. Belgians pay little, it is true, in the way of direct taxation, and even the indirect taxation is not excessive. With the growth of State expenditure, however, the adverse balance increases. It is a long while now since any effort has been made to face the financial position, though this has come to be an imperative duty, as may be seen from the increase in the public debt, which has grown from £56,413,863 in 1880 to £152,238,539 at the end of 1910, a rise of £95,824,676, or 169·86 per cent. The national three per cents have fallen to 79, and it was considered expedient to issue treasury bonds at 4 per cent (and even higher) to the amount of £12,444,850 in 1912 alone.

Shipping and Navigation.—Belgium has no state navy, although various proposals have been made from time to time to establish an armed flotilla in connexion with the defence of Antwerp. The state, however, possesses a certain number of steamers. In 1904 they numbered sixty-five of 99,893 tons. These steamers are chiefly employed on the passenger route between Ostend and Dover. The total number of vessels entering the only two ports of Belgium which carry on ocean commerce, namely Antwerp and Ostend, in 1904 was 7650 of a tonnage of 10,330,127. Among inland ports that of Ghent is the most important, 1127 ships of a tonnage of 786,362 having entered the port in 1904. The corresponding figures for ships sailing from the two ports first named were in the same year 7642 and tonnage 10,298,405. The figures from Ghent were 1128 and 787,173 tons. Whereas the lines of steamers from Ostend are chiefly with Dover and London, those from Antwerp proceed to all parts of the world. A steam service was established in 1906 from Hull to Bruges by Zeebrugge and the ship canal.

Internal Communications.—The internal communications of Belgium of every kind are excellent. The roads outside the province of Luxemburg and Namur are generally paved. In the provinces named, or in other words, in the region south of the Meuse, the roads are macadamized. The total length of roads is about 6000 m. When Belgium became a separate state in 1830 they were less than one-third of this total. There are about 2900 m. of railways, of which upwards of 2500 m. are state railways. It is of interest to note that the state railways derived a revenue of 249,355 francs (or nearly £10,000) from the penny tickets for the admission of non-travellers to railway stations. Besides the main railways there are numerous light railways (*chemins de fer vicinaux*), of a total length approaching 2500 m. There are also electric and steam tramways in all the principal cities. The total of navigable waterways is given as 1360 m. Posts, telegraphs and telephones are exclusively under state management and form a government department.

Banks and Money.—The principal banking institution is the Banque Nationale which issues the bank-notes in current use. In 1904 the average value of notes in circulation was 645,989,100 francs. The rate of discount was 3 % throughout the whole of the year.

The mintage of Belgian money is carried out by a *directeur de la fabrication* who is nominated by and responsible to the government. The gold coins are for 10 and 20 francs, silver for half francs, francs, 2 francs and 5 francs. Nickel money is for 5, 10 and 20 centimes, and the copper coinage has been withdrawn from circulation.



By courtesy of the Belgian State Railways.

LOUVAIN.

The Hotel de Ville of Louvain, seat of an ancient university, one of the richest and most ornate examples of the pointed Gothic architecture of the 15th century. It is the work of Mathieu de Layens, master mason, and took him fifteen years to build.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT

THE Belgian constitution, drafted by the national assembly in 1830-1831 after the provisional government had announced that "the Belgian provinces detached by force from Holland shall form an independent state," was published on the 7th of February 1831, and the modifications introduced into it subsequently, apart from the composition of the electorate, have been few and unimportant. The constitution originally contained one hundred and thirty-nine articles, and decreed in the first place that the government was to be "a constitutional, representative and hereditary monarchy." Having decided in favour of a monarchy, the provisional government first offered the throne to the duc de Nemours, son of Louis-Philippe, but this offer was promptly withdrawn on the discovery that Europe would not endorse it. It was then offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, widower of the princess Charlotte of England, and accepted by him. The prince was proclaimed on the 4th of June 1831 as Leopold I., king of the Belgians, and on the 21st of July 1831 he was solemnly inaugurated in Brussels. The succession is vested in the heirs male of Leopold I., and should they ever make complete default the throne will be declared vacant, and a national assembly composed of the two chambers elected in double strength will make a fresh nomination. In 1894 a new article numbered 61 was inserted in the constitution providing that "in default of male heirs the king can nominate his successor with the assent of the two chambers, and if no such nomination has been made the throne shall be vacant," when the original procedure of the constitution would be followed. The Belgian national assembly assumed that its constitution would extend over the whole of the Belgic or south Netherlands, but the powers decreed otherwise. The limits of Belgium are fixed by the London protocol of the 15th of October 1831—also called the twenty-four articles—which cut off what is now termed the grand duchy of Luxemburg, and also a good portion of the duchy of Limburg. These losses of territory held by a brother people are still felt as a grievance by many Belgians. The Belgian constitution stipulates for "freedom of conscience, of education, of the press and also of the right of meeting," but the sovereign must be a member of the Church of Rome. The government was to consist of the king, the senate and the chamber of representatives. The functions of the king are those that appertain everywhere to the sovereign of a constitutional state. He is the head of the army and has the exclusive right of dissolving the chambers as preliminary to an appeal to the country.

The senate is composed of seventy-six elected members and twenty-six members nominated by the provincial councils. A senator sits for eight years unless a dissolution is ordered, and no one is eligible until he is forty years of age. Half the seventy-six elected senators retire for re-election every four years. There is no payment or other privilege, except a pass on the state railways, attached to the rank of senator. The chamber of representatives contained one hundred and fifty-two members until 1899, when the number was increased to one hundred and sixty-six. Deputies are elected for four years, but half the house is re-elected every two years. A deputy must be twenty-five years of age, and the members of both houses must be of Belgian nationality, born or naturalized. A deputy receives an annual honorarium of 4000 francs and a railway pass. Down to 1893 the electorate was exceedingly small. Property and other qualifications kept the voting power in the hands of a limited class. This may be judged from the fact that in the year named there were only

137,772 voters out of a population of 6½ millions. In April 1894 the new electoral law altered the whole system. The property qualification was removed and every Belgian was given one vote on attaining twenty-five years of age and after one year's residence in his commune. At the same time the principle of multiple votes for certain qualifications was introduced. The Belgian citizen on reaching the age of thirty-five, providing he is married or is a widower with legitimate offspring and pays five francs of direct taxes, gets a second vote. Two extra votes are given for qualifications of property, official status or university diplomas. The maximum voting power of any individual is three votes. In 1904 there were 1,581,649 voters, possessing 2,467,966 votes. This system of plural voting has proved a success. It does not, however, satisfy the Socialists, whose formula is one man, one vote. The final change in the system of parliamentary elections was made in 1899-1900, when proportional representation was introduced. Proportional representation aims at the protection of minorities, and its working out is a little intricate, or at all events difficult to describe. The following has been accepted as a clear definition of what proportional representation is:—"Each electoral district has the number of its members apportioned in accordance with the total strength of each party or political programme in that district. As a rule there are only the three chief parties, viz. Catholic, Liberal and Socialist, but the presence of Catholic-Democrats or some other new faction may increase the total to four or even five. The number of seats to be filled is divided by the number of parties or candidates, and then they are distributed in the proportion of the total followers or voters of each. The smallest minority is thus sure of one seat." An illustration may make this clearer. In an electoral district with 32,000 votes which returns eight deputies, four parties send up candidates, let us say, eight Catholics, eight Liberals, eight Socialists and one Catholic-Democrat. The result of the voting is, 16,000 Catholic votes, 9000 Liberal, 4500 Socialist, and 2500 Catholic-Democrat. The seats would, therefore, be apportioned as follows: four Catholic, two Liberal, one Socialist and one Catholic-Democrat.

The king has one right which other constitutional rulers do not possess. He can initiate proposals for new laws (*projets de loi*). He is also charged with the executive power which he delegates to a cabinet composed of ministers chosen from the party representing the majority in the chamber. Down to 1884 the Liberal party had held power with very few intervals since 1840. The Catholic party succeeded to office in 1884. The ministers represent departments for finance, foreign affairs, colonies, justice, the interior, science and arts, war, railways, posts and telegraphs, agriculture, public works, and industry and labour. The minister for war is generally a soldier, the others are civilians. Ministers may be members of either chamber and enjoy the privilege of being allowed to speak in both. Sometimes one minister will hold several portfolios at the same time, but such cases are rare.

The kingdom is divided into nine provinces which are sub-divided into 342 cantons and 2623 communes. The provinces are governed by a governor nominated by the king, the canton is a judicial division for marking the limit of the jurisdiction of each *juge de paix*, and the commune is the administrative unit, possessing self-government in all local matters. For each commune of 5000 inhabitants or over, a burgomaster is appointed by the communal council which is chosen by the electors of the commune. As three years' residence is required these electors are fewer in number than those for the legislature. In 1902 there were 1,146,482 voters with 2,007,704 votes, the principles of multiple votes, with, however, a maximum of four votes and proportional representation, being in force for communal as for legislative elections.

Religion.—The constitution provides for absolute liberty of conscience and there is no state religion, but the people are almost to a man Roman Catholics. It is computed that there are 10,000 Protestants (half English) and 5000 Jews, and that all the rest are Catholics. The government in 1904 voted nearly 7,000,000 francs in aid of the religious establishments of, and the benevolent institutions kept up by, the Roman Church. The grant to other cults amounted to 118,000 francs, but small as this sum may appear it is in due proportion to the relative numbers of each creed. The hierarchy of the Church of Rome in Belgium is composed of the archbishop of Malines, and the bishops of Liège, Ghent, Bruges, Tournai and Namur. The archbishop receives £800, and the bishops £600 apiece from the state yearly. The pay of the village *curé* averages £80 a year and a house. Besides the regular clergy there are the members of the numerous monastic and conventual houses established in Belgium. They are engaged principally in educational and eleemosynary work, and the development in such institutions is considerable.

Education.—Education is compulsory by law, and is free for those who cannot pay for it. In the primary schools instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography is obligatory. In 1904 there were 7092 infant schools with 859,436 pupils of both sexes. Of these 807,383 did not pay. Primary education is supposed to continue till the age of fourteen, but in practice it stops at twelve for all who do not intend to pass through the middle schools, which is essential for all persons seeking state employment of any kind. The middle schools have one privilege. They can give a certificate qualifying scholars for a mastership in the primary schools, which are under the full control of the communes. These appointments are always bestowed on local favourites. The pay of a school-master

in a small commune is only £48, and in a large town £96, with a maximum ranging from £80 to £152 after twenty-four years' service. It is therefore clear that no very high qualifications could be expected from such a staff. The control of the state comes in to the extent of providing district inspectors who visit the schools once a year, and hold a meeting of the teachers in their district once a quarter. In each province there is a chief inspector who is bound to visit each school once in two years, and reports direct to the minister of public instruction. With regard to the middle schools, the government has reserved the right to appoint the teaching staff, and to prescribe the books that are to be used. The results of the middle schools are fairly satisfactory. Still better are the *Athénées Royaux*, twenty in number, which are quite independent of the commune and subject to official control under the superior direction of the king. Mathematics and classics are taught in them and the masters are allowed to take boarders. The expenditure of the state on education amounts to about a million sterling. In 1860 the grants were only for little over one-eighth of the total in 1903. In 1900 31·94% of the total population was illiterate. Considerable progress in the education of the people is made visible by a comparison of the figures of three decennial censuses. In 1880 the illiterate were 42·25% and in 1890 37·63, so that there was a further marked improvement by 1900. Among the provinces Walloon Belgium is better instructed than Flemish, Luxemburg coming first, followed by Namur, Liège and Brabant in their order.

Higher instruction is given at the universities and in the schools attached thereto. Those at Ghent and Liège are state universities; the two others at Brussels and Louvain are free. At Louvain alone is there a faculty of theology. The number of students inscribed for the academical year 1904-1905 at each university was Ghent 899, Liège 1983, Brussels 1082, and Louvain 2134, or a grand total of 6098. Liège is specially famed for the technical schools attached to it. There are also a large number of state-aided schools for special purposes; (1) for military instruction, there are the *École Militaire* at Brussels, the school of cadets at Namur, and army schools at different stations, e.g. Bouillon, &c. For officers in the army, there are the *École de Guerre* or staff college at Brussels with an average attendance of twenty, a riding school at Ypres where a course is obligatory for the cavalry and horse artillery, and for soldiers in the army there are regimental schools and evening classes for illiterate soldiers. (2) For education in the arts, there is the Royal Academy of Fine Arts at Antwerp, and besides this famous school of painting there are eighty-four academies for teaching drawing throughout the kingdom. In music, there are royal conservatoires at Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent and Liège. Besides these there are sixty-nine minor conservatoires. (3) For commercial and professional education, there are 181 schools. The Commercial Institute of Antwerp deserves special notice as an excellent school for clerks. (4) Among special schools may be named the three schools of navigation at Antwerp, Ostend and Nieuport. Since the wreck of the training-ship "Comte de Smet de Naeyer" in 1906, it has been decided that a stationary training-ship shall be placed in the Scheldt like the "Worcester" on the Thames. Among the numerous learned societies may be mentioned the Belgian Royal Academy founded in 1769 and revived in 1818. For the encouragement of research and literary style the government awards periodical prizes which are very keenly contested.

Justice.—The administration of justice is very fully organized, and in the Code Belge, which was carefully compiled between 1831 and 1836 from the old laws of the nine provinces bequeathed by the Code Napoléon and modern exigencies, the Belgians claim that they possess an almost perfect statute-book. The courts of law in their order are *Cour de Cassation*, *Cour d'Appel*, *Cour de Première Instance*, and the *Juge de Paix* courts, one for each of the 342 cantons. The *Cour de Cassation* has a peculiar judicial sphere. It works automatically, examining every judgment to see if it is in strict accord with the code, and where it is not the decision or verdict is simply annulled. There is only one judge in this court, but he has the assistance of a large staff of revisers. The *Cour de Cassation* never tries a case itself except when a minister of state is the accused. The president of this tribunal is the highest legal functionary in Belgium. There are three courts of appeal, viz. at Brussels, Ghent and Liège. At Brussels there are four separate chambers or tribunals in the appeal court. Judges of appeal are appointed by the king for life from lists of eligible barristers prepared by the senate and the courts. Judges can only be removed by the unanimous vote of their brother judges. There are twenty-six courts of first instance distributed among the principal towns of the kingdom, and in Antwerp, Ghent and Liège there are besides special tribunals for the settlement of commercial cases. Of course there is the right of appeal from the decisions of these tribunals as well as of the regular courts. Finally the 342 *Juge de Paix* courts resemble British county courts. Criminal cases are tried by (1) the *Tribunaux de Police*, (2) *Tribunaux Correctionnels*, and (3) the *Cours d'Assises*. The last are held as the length of the calendar requires. Capital punishment is retained on the statute, but is never enforced, the prisoner on whom sentence of death is passed in due form in open court being relegated to imprisonment for life in solitary confinement and perpetual silence. The chief prisons are at Louvain, Ghent and St Gilles (Brussels), and the last named serves as a house of detention. At Merxplas, near the Dutch frontier, is the agricultural criminal colony at which an average number of

two thousand prisoners are kept employed in comparative liberty within the radius of the convict settlement.

Pauperism.—For the relief of pauperism there are a limited number of houses of mendicity, in which inmates are received, and houses of refuge for night shelter. At the *béguinages* of Ghent and Bruges women and girls able to contribute a specified sum towards their support are given a home.

National Finance.—The budget is submitted to the chambers by the minister of finance and passed by them. The revenue and expenditure were in the years stated ¹ as follows :—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1880	394,215,932 francs	382,908,429 francs
1895	395,730,445 "	410,383,402 "
1903	632,416,810 "	627,975,568 "

The revenue is made up from taxes, including customs, tolls, including returns from railway traffic, &c., and the balance comes from various revenues, return of capital, loans, &c. The following are the principal items of expenditure (1903) :—

Service of debt	143,065,352 francs
Sovereign, senate, chamber, &c.	5,289,087 "
Departments, foreign office	3,751,636 "
" agriculture	12,253,957 "
" railways	165,086,019 "
" finance	34,479,674 "
" industry	19,905,589 "
" war	63,972,473 "
" public instruction	31,799,105 "
" justice	27,168,032 "
Minor items	4,179,046 "
Total	510,949,970 "

The difference is made up of "special expenditure." The total debt in English money may be put at 126 millions sterling, which requires for interest, sinking fund and service about 5½ millions sterling annually. The rate of interest on all the loans extant is 3%, except on one loan of 219,959,632 francs, which pays only 2½%.

Army and National Defence.—The army is divided into the regular army, the gendarmerie, and the *garde civique*. The Belgian regular army is thus composed: infantry, one regiment of carabiniers, one of grenadiers, three of *chasseurs à pied*, and fourteen of the line, all these regiments having 3 or 4 active and 3 or 4 reserve battalions apiece; cavalry, two regiments of guides, two of *chasseurs à cheval*, and four of lancers, all light cavalry; artillery, four horse, thirty field, and seventy siege batteries on active service; engineers, 140 officers and 2000 men. The train or commissariat has only 30 officers and 600 men on the permanent establishment. Belgium retains the older form of conscription, and has not adopted the system of "universal service." The annual levy is small and substitution is permitted.² In 1904 the number inscribed for service was 64,042. Of these only 12,525 were enrolled in the army, and of that number 1421 were volunteers, who took an engagement on receipt of a premium. The effective strength of the army in 1904 with the colours was 3406 officers and 40,382 men. To this total has to be added the men on the active list, but either absent on leave or allowed to return to civil life, numbering 70,043. It is assumed that on mobilization these men are immediately available. The reserve consists of 181 officers and 58,014 men, so that the total strength of the Belgian army is 3587 officers and 168,439 men. The field force in war is organized in four infantry and two cavalry divisions, the total strength being about 100,000. The peace effective has not varied much since 1870, but the total paper strength is 75,000 more than in that year. In the years 1900–1904 it increased by 8000 men. The gendarmerie is a mounted force composed of men picked for their physique and divided into three divisions. It numbers 67 officers and 3079 men, but has no reserve. It is in every sense a *corps d'élite*, and may be classed as first-rate heavy cavalry. The total strength of the *garde civique* in 1905 was 35,102, to which have to be added 8532 volunteers belonging to the corps of older formation, service in which counts on a par with the *garde civique*. Some of the latter regiments, especially the artillery, would rank with British volunteers, but the mass of the *garde civique* does not pretend to possess military value. It is a defence against

¹ For 1913 the revenue was estimated at £30,040,626 and the expenditure at £29,386,246.

² At the end of 1912 a new army scheme was brought in, bringing the peace strength up to 150,000 men, with a war strength of 330,000.

sedition and socialism. The defence of Belgium depends on five fortified positions. The fortified position and camp of Antwerp represents the true base of the national defence. Its detached forts shelter the city from bombardment, and so long as sea communication is open with England, Antwerp would be practically impregnable. Liège with twelve forts and Namur with nine forts are the fortified *têtes de pont* protecting the two most important passages of the Meuse. The forts are constructed in concrete with armoured cupolas. Termonde on the Scheldt and Diest on the Dender are retained as nominally fortified positions, but neither could resist a regular bombardment for more than a few hours, as their casemates are not bomb-proof.

The training camp of the Belgian army is at Beverloo in the province of Limburg, and at Braschaet not far from Antwerp are ranges for artillery as well as rifle practice. The Belgian officer is technically as well trained and educated as any in Europe, but he lacks practical experience in military service.

APPENDIX

THE BELGIAN CONGO

SINCE the transfer of the Congo Free State to Belgium, sincere efforts have been made to effect reforms under the direction of M. Renkin, minister for the Colonies, and with the active encouragement of King Albert. By royal decree of March 22, 1910, the right to collect, and to dispose of in trade, the natural products of the soil was restored to the natives. This decree became operative in the whole of Belgian Congo in July 1912, parts of the colony having been opened to trade in July 1910 and July 1911 respectively. An endeavour was also made to restore the authority of tribal chiefs, a tax in money was substituted for the tax in rubber, and the demands of the reformers were met on nearly every point save that of land tenure. Up to the end of 1912 the right of the natives to ownership of tribal lands had not been conceded. The government, moreover, while granting absolute freedom of trade, itself remained a trading concern and entered into keen competition with its rivals. In the later half of 1912 the British and American consuls-general were sent on an extended tour in the Upper Congo to report how the reforms decreed in Brussels were working in practice. Until satisfied that the reforms were in actual operation the British and American governments withheld their recognition of the annexation of the Congo State by Belgium. By the end of 1912 all the other Powers had recognized the transfer.

During 1910-1912 the N.E. frontiers of the colony adjoining Uganda and German East Africa were delimited, and the delimitation of the Congo-Rhodesian frontier was in progress in 1912. By the Franco-German agreement of November 1911, which at one point brought the German frontier down to the Congo River, the right of France to pre-emption, should Belgium desire to part with the Congo, was so far modified that it was agreed that in case of territorial changes in the Congo basin, France and Germany would discuss the situation with the other signatories of the Berlin Act of 1885.

The native population was estimated in 1912 at no more than 8,000,000; the white population was between 5000 and 6000, of whom nearly 2000 were government officials and 570 missionaries (350 Roman Catholics, 220 Protestants). The only district in which there is any European agricultural population is Katanga, where the climate resembles that of northern Rhodesia.

The cost of administration, as was expected under the new régime, exceeds the revenue. In 1910 the revenue was £1,340,000, the expenditure £1,612,000. In 1911 the revenue was £1,620,000 and the expenditure £2,360,000. For 1912 the estimates were:—revenue, £1,815,000, expenditure, £2,661,000. The public debt (1912) was £10,475,000. The chief products are rubber (still plentiful in the Aruwimi Forest, on the Angola border and in some other regions), ivory, palm oil and palm nuts, copal, cocoa, gold and copper. The gold comes mainly from the Kilo mines; the copper from Katanga. In March 1911 the British firm of Lever Bros. was granted a concession of 20,000,000 acres in the lower Congo to establish a palm oil industry and soap manufactory. The same firm also obtained a concession in the British gold coast colony. Gum copal during 1911-1912 became an important export; the Congo copal is of excellent quality. On ivory, in which the State largely trades, there are heavy duties. In 1910 the value of exports was £6,488,000, that of the imports (chiefly textiles, food stuffs and machinery) 4,757,000. The bulk of the trade is with Antwerp. The tonnage of shipping clearing Boma in 1910 was 617,000: 33 per cent. being Belgian and 25 per cent. British. France and Germany came next.

On May 25, 1912, M. Fuchs, vice-governor at Boma, was appointed governor-general of the colony in succession to Lieut.-General Baron Wahis. The *Comité spécial du Katanga* had been abolished in March 1910 and the administration of the province assumed by the State. It was placed under a vice-governor, M. Wangermée, with headquarters at Elizabethville, a town founded in 1910 (to serve the copper and tin mines of the district) in a clearing in virgin forest, at the then terminus of the railway from Rhodesia. In July 1911 the extension N.W. of this railway to Kambove (110 m.) was begun. Its completion was expected in March 1913. From Kambove, another section of about 200 m. will bring the railway to the navigable waters of the Lualaba (upper Congo), thus completing a rail and river steamer service between Cape Town and Beira and the mouth of the Congo.

The founding of Elizabethville (named after the Queen of the Belgians) marked a boom in the development of Katanga. Its white population on January 1, 1912, was 1132, of whom 519 were Belgians and 228 British. It covered an area of 560 acres and possessed

20 m. of streets. Within a radius of over 100 m. of the town there were no native inhabitants and the government in 1911 formulated a scheme for the emigration of Belgian agriculturists thither. The white population of Katanga was in March 1912 between 1800 and 2000 as against 750 in January 1911. The chief copper deposits of Katanga—one of the richest copper regions in the world—are in the hands of the Union Minière, which started regular smelting at the Star of the Congo mine in August 1911. The company's total output of copper up to May 1912 (when smelting ceased for some months) was 1995 tons.

One of the chief difficulties of the administration is to secure a *personnel* of the best type; meantime many of the old agents of the Congo State have been retained. One of these officials in the Tanganyika region was in April 1912 sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for summarily executing eleven native prisoners, including four women and a child. Other peccant officials have also been imprisoned, but in general "atrocities" are at an end. A second court of appeal has been established at Elizabethville.

SWITZERLAND

CHAPTER I

THE LEAGUE AGAINST AUSTRIA

THE Swiss Confederation is made up of twenty-two small states, differing from each other in nearly every point—religious, political, social, industrial, physical and linguistic; yet it forms a nation the patriotism of whose members is universally acknowledged. History alone can supply us with the key to this puzzle; but Swiss history, while thus essential if we could thoroughly grasp the nature of the Confederation, is very intricate and very local. A firm hold on a few guiding principles is therefore most desirable, and of these there are three which we must always bear in mind. (1) The first to be mentioned is *the connexion of Swiss history with that of the Empire*. Swiss history is largely the history of the drawing together of bits of each of the imperial kingdoms (Germany, Italy and Burgundy) for common defence against a common foe—the Habsburgs; and, when this family have secured to themselves the permanent possession of the Empire, the Swiss League little by little wins its independence of the Empire, practically in 1499, formally in 1648. Originally a member of the Empire, the Confederation becomes first an ally, then merely a friend. (2) The second is *the German origin and nature of the Confederation*. Round a German nucleus (the three Forest districts) there gradually gather other German districts; the Confederation is exclusively German (save partially in the case of Fribourg, in which after its admission in 1481 Teutonic influences gradually supplanted the Romance speech); and it is not till 1803 and 1815 that its French- and Italian-speaking “subjects” are raised to political equality with their former masters, and that the Romansch-speaking Leagues of Raetia (Graubünden) pass from the status of an ally to that of a member of the Confederation. (3) Swiss history is *a study in federalism*. Based on the defensive alliances of 1291 and 1315 between the three Forest districts, the Confederation is enlarged by the admission of other districts and towns, all leagued with the original three members, but not necessarily with each other. Hence great difficulties are encountered in looking after common interests, in maintaining any real union; the Diet was merely an assembly of ambassadors with powers very strictly limited by their instructions, and there was no central executive authority. The Confederation is a *Staatenbund*, or permanent alliance of several small states. After the break-up of the old system in 1798 we see the idea of a *Bundesstaat*, or an organized state with a central legislative, executive and judiciary, work its way to the front, an idea which is gradually realized in the Constitutions of 1848 and 1874. The whole constitutional history of the Confederation is summed up in this transition to a federal state, which, while a single state in its foreign relations, in home matters maintains the more or less absolute independence of its several members.

On the 1st of August 1291 the men of the valley of Uri (*homines vallis Ura尼亚e*), the free community of the valley of Schwyz (*universitas vallis de Switz*), and the association of the men of the lower valley or Nidwalden (*communitas hominum intramontanorum vallis inferioris*)—Obwalden or the upper valley is not mentioned in the text, though it is named on the seal appended—formed an Everlasting League for the purpose of self-defence against all who should attack or trouble them, a league which is expressly stated to be a confirmation of a former one (*antiquam confederationis formam jura-*

mento vallatam presentibus innovando). This league was the foundation of the Swiss Congress.

What were these districts? and why at this particular moment was it necessary for them to form a defensive league? The legal and political conditions of each were very different. (a) In 853 Louis the German granted (*inter alia*) all his lands (and the rights annexed to them) situated in the *pagellus Uraniae* to the convent of SS. Felix and Regula in Zürich (the present Fraumünster), of which his daughter Hildegard was the first abbess, and gave to this district the privilege of exemption from all jurisdiction save that of the king (*Reichsfreiheit*), so that though locally within the Zürichgau it was not subject to its count, the king's deputy. The abbey thus became possessed of the greater part of the valley of the Reuss between the present Devil's Bridge and the Lake of Lucerne, for the upper valley (Urseren) belonged at that time to the abbey of Disentis in the Rhine valley, and did not become permanently allied with Uri till 1470. The privileged position of the abbey tenants gradually led the other men of the valley to "commend" themselves to the abbey, whether they were tenants of other lords or free men as in the Schächenthal. The meeting of all the inhabitants of the valley, for purposes connected with the customary cultivation of the soil according to fixed rules and methods, served to prepare them for the enjoyment of full political liberty in later days. The important post of "protector" (*advocatus* or *vogt*) of the abbey was given to one family after another by the emperor as a sign of trust; but when, on the extinction of the house of Zähringen in 1218, the office was granted to the Habsburgs, the protests of the abbey tenants, who feared the rapidly rising power of that family, and perhaps also the desire of the German king to obtain command of the St Gotthard Pass (of which the first authentic mention occurs about 1236, when of course it could only be traversed on foot), led to the recall of the grant in 1231, the valley being thus restored to its original privileged position, and depending immediately on the king. (b) In Schwyz (first mentioned in 972) we must distinguish between the districts west and east of Steinen. In the former the land was in the hands of many nobles, amongst whom were the Habsburgs; in the latter there was, at the foot of the Mythen, a free community of men governing themselves and cultivating their land in common; both, however, were politically subject to the king's delegates, the counts of the Zürichgau, who after 1173 were the ever-advancing Habsburgs. But in 1240 the free community of Schwyz obtained from the emperor Frederick II. a charter which removed them from the jurisdiction of the counts, placing them in immediate dependence on the king, like the abbey men of Uri. In a few years, however, the Habsburgs contrived to dispense with this charter in practice. (c) In Unterwalden things were very different. The upper valley (Obwalden or Sarnen), like the lower (Nidwalden or Stans), formed part of the Zürichgau, while in both the soil was owned by many ecclesiastical and lay lords, among them being the Habsburgs and the Alsatian abbey of Murbach. Hence in this district there were privileged tenants, but no free community, and no centre of unity, and this explains why Obwalden and Nidwalden won their way upwards so much more slowly than their neighbours in Uri and Schwyz. Thus the early history and legal position of these three districts was very far from being the same. In Uri the Habsburgs, save for a brief space, had absolutely no rights; while in Schwyz, Obwalden and Nidwalden they were also, as counts of the Zürichgau, the representatives of the king.

The Habsburgs had been steadily rising for many years from the position of an unimportant family in the Aargau to that of a powerful clan of large landed proprietors in Swabia and Alsace, and had attained a certain political importance as counts of the Zürichgau and Aargau. In one or both qualities the cadet or Laufenburg line, to which the family estates in the Forest districts round the Lake of Lucerne had fallen on the division of the inheritance in 1232, seem to have exercised their legal rights in a harsh manner. In 1240 the free men of Schwyz obtained protection from the emperor, and in 1244 we hear of the castle of New Habsburg, built by the Habsburgs on a promontory jutting out into the lake not far from Lucerne, with the object of enforcing their real or pretended rights. It is therefore not a matter for surprise that when, after the excommunication and deposition of Frederick II. by Innocent IV. at the Council of Lyons in 1245, the head of the cadet line of Habsburg sided with the pope, some of the men of the Forest districts should rally round the emperor. Schwyz joined Sarnen and Lucerne (though Uri and Obwalden supported the pope); the castle of New Habsburg was reduced to its present ruined state; and in 1247 the men of Schwyz, Sarnen and Lucerne were threatened by the pope with excommunication if they persisted in upholding the emperor and defying their hereditary lords the counts of Habsburg. The rapid decline of Frederick's cause soon enabled the Habsburgs to regain their authority in these districts. Yet these obscure risings have an historical interest, for they are the foundation in fact (so far as they have any) of the legendary stories of Habsburg oppression told of and by a later age. After this temporary check the power of the Habsburgs continued to increase rapidly. In 1273 the head of the cadet line sold all his lands and rights in the Forest districts to the head of the elder or Alsatian line, Rudolph, who a few months later was elected to the imperial throne, in virtue of which he acquired for his family in 1282 the duchy of Austria, which now for the first time became connected with the Habsburgs. Rudolph recognized the privileges

of Uri but not those of Schwyz; and, as he now united in his own person the characters of emperor, count of the Zürichgau, and landowner in the Forest districts (a name occurring first in the 14th century), such a union of offices might be expected to result in a confusion of rights. On the 16th of April 1291 Rudolph bought from the abbey of Murbach in Alsace (of which he was "advocate") all its rights over the town of Lucerne and the abbey estates in Unterwalden. It thus seemed probable that the other Forest districts would be shut off from their natural means of communication with the outer world by way of the lake. Rudolph's death, on the 15th of July of the same year, cleared the way, and a fortnight later (Aug. 1) the Everlasting League was made between the men of Uri, Schwyz and Nidwalden (the words *et vallis superioris*, i. e. Obwalden, were inserted, perhaps between the time of the drawing up of the document, the text of which does not mention Obwalden, and the moment of its sealing on the original seal of Nidwalden) for the purpose of self-defence against a common foe. We do not know the names of the delegates of each valley who concluded the treaty, nor the place where it was made, nor have we any account of the deliberations of which it was the result. The common seal—that great outward sign of the right of a corporate body to act in its own name—appears first in Uri in 1243, in Schwyz in 1281, in Unterwalden not till this very document of 1291; yet, despite the great differences in their political status, they all joined in concluding this League, and confirmed it by their separate seals, thereby laying claim on behalf of their union to an independent existence. Besides promises of aid and assistance in the case of attack, they agree to punish great criminals by their own authority, but advise that, in minor cases and in all civil cases, each man should recognize the "judex" to whom he owes suit, engaging that the Confederates will, in case of need, enforce the decisions of the "judex." At the same time they unanimously refuse to recognize any "judex" who has bought his charge or is a stranger to the valleys. All disputes between the parties to the treaty are, as far as possible, to be settled by a reference to arbiters, a principle which remained in force for over six hundred years. "Judex" is a general term for any local official, especially the chief of the community, whether named by the lord or by the community; and, as earlier in the same year Rudolph had promised the men of Schwyz not to force upon them a "judex" belonging to the class of serfs, we may conjecture from this very decided protest that the chief source of disagreement was in the matter of the jurisdictions of the lord and the free community, and that some recent event in Schwyz led it to insist on the insertion of this provision. It is stipulated also that every man shall be bound to obey his own lord "convenienter," or so far as is fitting and right. The *antiqua confederatio* mentioned in this document was probably merely an ordinary agreement to preserve the peace in that particular district, made probably during the interregnum (1254–1273) in the Empire.

In the struggle for the Empire, which extended over the years following the conclusion of the League of 1291, we find that the Confederates supported without exception the anti-Habsburg candidate. On the 16th of October 1291 Uri and Schwyz allied themselves with Zürich, and joined the general rising in Swabia against Albert, the new head of the house of Habsburg. It soon failed, but hopes revived when in 1292 Adolf of Nassau was chosen emperor. In 1297 he confirmed to the free men of Schwyz their charter of 1240, and, strangely enough, confirmed the same charter to Uri, instead of their own of 1231. It is in his reign that we have the first recorded meeting of the "Landsgemeinde" (or legislative assembly) of Schwyz (1294). But in 1298 Albert of Habsburg himself was elected to the Empire. His rule was strict and severe, though not oppressive. He did not indeed confirm the charters of Uri or of Schwyz, but he did not attack the ancient rights of the former, and in the latter he exercised his rights as a landowner and did not abuse his political rights as emperor or as count. In Unterwalden we find that in 1304 the two valleys were joined together under a common administrator (the local deputy of the count)—a great step forward to permanent union. The stories of Albert's tyrannical actions in the Forest districts are not heard of till two centuries later, though no doubt the union of offices in his person was a permanent source of alarm to the Confederation. It was in his time too that the "terrier" (or list of manors and estates, with enumeration of all quit rents, dues, &c., payable by the tenants to their lords) of all the Habsburg possessions in Upper Germany was begun, and it was on the point of being extended to Schwyz and Unterwalden when Albert was murdered (1308) and the election of Henry of Luxemburg roused the free men to resist the officials charged with the survey. Despite his promise to restore to the Habsburgs all rights enjoyed by them under his three predecessors (or maintain them in possession), Henry confirmed, on the 3rd of June 1309, to Uri and Schwyz their charters of 1297, and, for some unknown reason, confirmed to Unterwalden all the liberties granted by his predecessor, though as a matter of fact none had been granted. This charter, and the nomination of one royal bailiff to administer the three districts, had the effect of placing them all (despite historical differences) in an identical political position, and that the most privileged yet given to any of them—the freedom of the free community of Schwyz. A few days later the Confederates made a fresh treaty of alliance with Zürich; and in 1310 the emperor placed certain other inhabitants of Schwyz on the same privileged footing as the free community. The Habsburgs were put off with promises; and, though their request (1311) for an inquiry into their precise rights in Alsace and in the Forest

districts was granted, no steps were taken to carry out this investigation. Thus in Henry's time the struggle was between the Empire and the Habsburgs as to the recognition of the rights of the latter, *not* between the Habsburgs and those dependent on them as landlords or counts.

On Henry's death in 1313 the electors hesitated long between Frederick the Handsome of Habsburg and Louis of Bavaria. The men of Schwyz seized this opportunity for making a wanton attack on the great abbey of Einsiedeln, with which they had a long-standing quarrel as to rights of pasture. The abbot caused them to be excommunicated, and Frederick (the choice of the minority of the electors), who was the hereditary "advocate" of the abbey, placed them under the ban of the Empire. Louis, to whom they appealed, removed the ban; on which Frederick issued a decree by which he restored to his family all their rights and possessions in *the three valleys* and Urseren, and charged his brother Leopold with the execution of this order. The Confederates hastily concluded alliances with Glarus, Urseren, Arth and Interlaken to protect themselves from attack on every side. Leopold collected a brilliant army at the Austrian town of Zug in order to attack Schwyz, while a body of troops was to take Unterwalden in the rear by way of the Brünig Pass. On the 15th of November 1315, Leopold with from 15,000 to 20,000 men moved forward along the shore of the Lake of Aegeri, intending to assail the town of Schwyz by climbing the slopes of Morgarten above the south-eastern end of the lake. There they were awaited by the valiant band of the Confederates from 1300 to 1500 strong. The march up the rugged and slippery slope threw the Austrian army into disarray, which became a rout and mad flight when huge boulders and trunks of trees were hurled from above by their foes, who charged down and drove them into the lake. Leopold fled in hot haste to Winterthur, and the attack by the Brünig was driven back by the men of Unterwalden. On the 9th of December 1315 representatives of the victorious highlanders met at Brunnen, on the Lake of Lucerne, not far from Schwyz, and renewed the Everlasting League of 1291. In their main lines the two documents are very similar, the later being chiefly an expansion of the earlier. That of 1315 is in German (in contrast to the 1291 League, which is in Latin), and has one or two striking clauses largely indebted to a decree issued by Zürich on the 24th of July 1291. None of the three districts or their dependents is to recognize a new lord without the consent and counsel of the rest. (This is probably meant to provide for an interregnum in or disputed election to the Empire, possibly for the chance of the election of a Habsburg.) Strict obedience in all lawful matters is to be rendered to the rightful lord in each case, unless he attacks or wrongs any of the Confederates, in which case they are to be free from all obligations. No negotiations, so long as the "Länder" have no lord, are to be entered on with outside powers, save by common agreement of all. Louis solemnly recognized and confirmed the new league in 1316, and in 1318 a truce was concluded between the Confederates and the Habsburgs, who treat with them on equal terms. The lands and rights annexed belonging to the Habsburgs in the Forest districts are fully recognized as they existed in the days of Henry of Luxemburg, and freedom of commerce is granted. But there is not one word about the *political* rights of the Habsburgs as counts of the Zürichgau and Aargau. This distinction gives the key to the whole history of the relations between the Confederates and Habsburgs; the rights of the latter as landowners are fully allowed, and till 1801 they possessed estates within the Confederation; it is their political rights which were always contested by the Swiss, who desired to rule themselves.

As early as 1320 we find the name "Switzerland" (*Sweicz*) (derived from Schwyz, which had always been the leader in the struggle) applied to the three Forest cantons, and in 1352 extended to the Confederation as a whole. But it was not till after Sempach (1386) that it came into popular use, the historian J. von Müller (1785) fixing the distinction between "Schweiz" (for the country) and "Schwyz" (for the canton), and it did not form the official name of the Confederation till 1803. (Officially in the middle ages and later the Confederation was named "les Liges de la Haute Allemagne," or, as Commines, late in the 15th century, puts it, "les vieilles Liges d'Allemagne qu'on appelle Suisses," while from c. 1452 onwards the people were called "Swiss.") This is in itself a proof of the great renown which the League won by its victory at Morgarten. Another is that as years go by we find other members admitted to the privileges of the original alliance of the three Forest districts. First to join the League (1332) was the neighbouring town of Lucerne, which had grown up round the monastery of St Leodegar or Leger (whence the place took its name), perhaps a colony, certainly a cell of the great house of Murbach in Alsace, under the rule of which the town remained till its sale in 1291 to the Habsburgs. This act of Lucerne was opposed by the house of Austria, but, despite the decision of certain chosen arbitrators in favour of the Habsburg claims, the town clung to the League with which it was connected by its natural position, and thus brought a new element into the pastoral association of the Forest districts, which now surrounded the entire Lake of Lucerne. Next, in 1351, came the ancient town of Zürich, which in 1218, on the extinction of the house of Zähringen, had become a free imperial city in which the abbess of the Fraumünster (the lady of Uri) had great influence, while in 1336 there had been a great civic revolution, headed by Rudolph Brun, which had raised the members of the craft guilds to a position in

the municipal government of equal power with that of the patricians, who, however, did not cease intriguing to regain their lost privileges, so that Brun, after long hesitation, decided to throw in the lot of the town with the League rather than with Austria. In this way the League now advanced from the hilly country to the plains, though the terms of the treaty with Zürich did not bind it so closely to the Confederates as in the other cases (the right of making alliances apart from the League being reserved though the League was to rank before these), and hence rendered it possible for Zürich now and again to incline towards Austria in a fashion which did great hurt to its allies. In 1352 the League was enlarged by the admission of Glarus and Zug. Glarus belonged to the monastery of Säckingen on the Rhine (founded by the Irish monk Fridolin), of which the Habsburgs were "advocates," claiming therefore many rights over the valley, which refused to admit them, and joyfully received the Confederates who came to its aid; but it was placed on a lower footing than the other members of the League, being bound to obey their orders. Three weeks later the town and district of Zug, attacked by the League and abandoned by their Habsburg masters, joined the Confederation, forming a transition link between the civic and rural members of the League. The immediate occasion of the union of these two districts was the war begun by the Austrian duke against Zürich, which was ended by the Brandenburger peace of 1352, by which Glarus and Zug were to be restored to the Habsburgs, who also regained their rights over Lucerne. Zug was won for good by a bold stroke of the men of Schwyz in 1364, but it was not till the day of Näfels (1388) that Glarus recovered its lost freedom. These temporary losses and the treaty made by Brun of Zürich with Austria in 1356 were, however, far outweighed by the entrance into the League in 1353 of the famous town of Bern, which, founded in 1191 by Berthold V. of Züringen, and endowed with great privileges, had become a free imperial city in 1218 on the extinction of the Züringen dynasty. Founded for the purpose of bridling the turbulent feudal nobles around, many of whom had become citizens, Bern beat them back at Dornbühl (1298), and made a treaty with the Forest districts as early as 1323. In 1339, at the bloody fight of Laupen, she had broken the power of the nobles for ever, and in 1352 had been forced by a treaty with Austria to take part in the war against Zürich, but soon after the conclusion of peace entered the League as the ally of the three Forest districts, being thus only indirectly joined to Lucerne and Zürich. The special importance of the accession of Bern was that the League now began to spread to the west, and was thus brought into connexion for the first time with the French-speaking land of Savoy. The League thus numbered eight members, the fruits of Morgarten, and no further members were admitted till 1481, after the Burgundian War. But, in order thoroughly to understand the nature of the League, it must be remembered that, while each of the five new members was allied with the original nucleus—the three Forest districts—these five were not directly allied to one another; Lucerne was allied with Zürich and Zug; Zürich with Lucerne, Zug and Glarus; Glarus with Zürich; Zug with Lucerne and Zürich; Bern with no one except the three original members. The circumstances under which each entered the League can alone explain these very intricate relations.

After a short interval of peace the quarrels with Austria broke out afresh; all the members of the League, save the three Forest districts and Glarus, joined (1385) the great union of the south German cities; but their attention was soon called to events nearer home. Lucerne fretted much under the Austrian rule, received many Austrian subjects among her citizens, and refused to pay custom duties to the Austrian bailiff at Rothenburg, on the ground that she had the right of free traffic. An attack on the custom-house at Rothenburg, and the gift of the privileges of burghership to the discontented inhabitants of the little town of Sempach a short way off, so irritated Leopold III. (who then held all the possessions of his house outside Austria) that he collected an army, with the intention of crushing his rebellious town. Lucerne meanwhile had summoned the other members of the League to her aid, and, though Leopold's feint of attacking Zürich caused the troops of the League to march at first in that direction, they discovered their mistake in time to turn back and check his advance on Lucerne. From 1500 to 1600 men of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Lucerne opposed the 6000 which made up the Austrian army. The decisive fight took place on the 9th of July 1386, near Sempach, on a bit of sloping meadowland, cut up by streams and hedges, which forced the Austrian knights to dismount. The great heat of the day, which rendered it impossible to fight in armour, and the furious attacks of the Confederates, finally broke the Austrian line after more than one repulse and turned the day. Leopold, with a large number of his followers, was slain, and the Habsburg power within the borders of the Confederation finally broken. Glarus at once rose in arms against Austria, but it was not till the expiration of the truce made after Sempach that Leopold's brother, Albert of Austria, brought an army against Glarus, and was defeated at Näfels (not far from Glarus) on the 9th of April 1388, by a handful of Glarus and Schwyz men.

In 1389 a peace for seven years was made, the Confederates being secured in all their conquests; an attempt made in 1393 by Austria by means of Schöno, the chief magistrate of Zürich and leader of the patrician party, to stir up a fresh attack failed owing to a rising of the burghers, who sympathized with the Confederates, and on the 16th of July 1394

the peace was prolonged for twenty years (and again in 1412 for fifty years), various stipulations being made by which the long struggle of the League against the Habsburgs was finally crowned with success.

By the peace of 1394 Glarus was freed on payment of £200 annually (in 1395 it bought up all the rights of Säckingen); Zug too was released from Austrian rule. Schwyz was given the *advocatia* of the great abbey of Einsiedeln; Lucerne got the Entlebuch (finally in 1405), Sempach and Rothenburg, Bern and Soleure were confirmed in their conquests. Above all, the Confederation as a whole was relieved from the overlordship of the Habsburgs, to whom, however, all their rights and dues as landed proprietors were expressly reserved; Bern, Zürich and Soleure guaranteeing the maintenance of these rights and dues, with power in case of need to call on the other Confederates to support them by arms. Though the house of Habsburg entertained hopes of recovering its former rights, so that technically the treaties of 1389, 1394 and 1412 were but truces, it finally and for ever renounced all its feudal rights and privileges within the Confederation by the "Everlasting Compact" of 1474.

It is probable that Bern did not take any active share in the Sempach War because she was bound by the treaty of peace made with the Austrians in 1368; and Soleure, allied with Bern, was doubtless a party to the treaty of 1394 (though not yet in the League), because of its sufferings in 1382 at the hands of the Kyburg line of the Habsburgs, whose possessions (Thun, Burgdorf, &c.) in 1384 fell into the hands of the two allies.

We may mention here the foray (known as the English or Gugler War) made in 1375 by Enguerrand de Coucy (husband of Isabella, daughter of Edward III. of England) and his freebooters (many of them Englishmen and Welshmen), called "Gugler" from their pointed steel caps, with the object of obtaining possession of certain towns in the Aargau (including Sempach), which he claimed as the dowry of his mother Catherine, daughter of the Leopold who was defeated at Morgarten. He was put to rout in the Entlebuch by the men of Bern, Lucerne, Schwyz and Unterwalden in December 1375. This victory was commemorated with great rejoicings in 1875.

CHAPTER II

THE CONFEDERATES AND THE EMPIRE

THE great victory at Sempach not merely vastly increased the fame of the Everlasting League but also enabled it to extend both its influence and its territory. The 15th century is the period when both the League and its several members took the aggressive, and the expansion of their power and lands cannot be better seen than by comparing the state of things at the beginning and at the end of this century. The pastoral highlands of Appenzell (Abbatis Cella) and the town of St Gall had long been trying to throw off the rights exercised over them by the great abbey of St Gall. The Appenzellers, especially, had offered a stubborn resistance, and the abbot's troops had been beaten back by them in 1403 on the heights of Vögelinseck, and again in 1405 in the great fight on the Stoss Pass (which leads up into the highlands), in which the abbot was backed by the duke of Austria. The tales of the heroic defence of Uli Rotach of Appenzell, and of the appearance of a company of Appenzell women disguised as warriors which turned the battle, are told in connexion with this fight, but do not appear till the 17th and 18th centuries, being thus quite unhistorical, so far as our genuine evidence goes. Schwyz had given them some help, and in 1411 Appenzell was placed under the protection of the League (save Bern), with which in the next year the city of St Gall made a similar treaty to last ten years. So too in 1416-1417 several of the "tithings" of the Upper Valais (*i.e.* the upper stretch of the Rhone valley), which in 1388 had beaten the bishop and the nobles in a great fight at Visp, became closely associated with Lucerne, Uri and Unterwalden. It required aid in its final struggle (1418-19) against the great house of Raron, the count-bishop of Sitten (or Sion), and the house of Savoy, which held the Lower Valais—the Forest districts, on the other hand, wishing to secure themselves against Raron and Savoy in their attempt to conquer permanently the Val d'Ossola on the south side of the Simplon Pass. Bern, however, supported its burgher, the lord of Raron, and peace was made in 1420. Such were the first links which bound these lands with the League; but they did not become full members for a long time—Appenzell in 1513, St Gall in 1803, the Balais in 1815.

Space will not allow us to enumerate all the small conquests made in the first half of the 15th century by every member of the League; suffice it to say that each increased and rounded off its territory, but did not give the conquered lands any political rights, governing them as "subject lands," often very harshly. The same phenomenon of lands which had won their own freedom playing the part of tyrant over other lands which joined them more or less by their voluntary action is seen on a larger scale in the case of the conquest of the Aargau, and in the first attempts to secure a footing south of the Alps.

In 1412 the treaty of 1394 between the League and the Habsburgs had been renewed for fifty years; but when in 1415 Duke Frederick of Austria helped Pope John XXII. to escape from Constance, where the great oecumenical council was then sitting, and the emperor Sigismund placed the duke under the ban of the Empire, summoning all members of the Empire to arm against him, the League hesitated, because of their treaty of 1412, till the emperor declared that all the rights and lands of Austria in the League were forfeited, and that their compact did not release them from their obligations to the Empire. In the name, therefore, of the emperor, and by his special command, the different members of the League overran the extensive Habsburg possessions in the Aargau. The chief share fell to Bern, but certain districts (known as the

Freie Aemter) were joined together and governed as bailiwicks held in common by all the members of the League (save Uri, based in the south, and Bern, who had already secured the lion's share of the spoil for herself). This is the first case in which the League as a whole took up the position of rulers over districts which, though guaranteed in the enjoyment of their old rights, were nevertheless politically unfree. As an encouragement and a reward, Sigismund had granted in advance to the League the right of criminal jurisdiction (*haute justice* or *Blutbann*), which points to the fact that they were soon to become independent of the Empire, as they were of Austria.

As the natural policy of Bern was to seek to enlarge its borders at the expense of Austria, and later of Savoy, so we find that Uri, shut off by physical causes from extension in other directions, as steadily turned its eyes towards the south. In 1410 the valley of Urseren was finally joined to Uri; though communications were difficult, and carried on only by means of the "Stiebende Brücke," a wooden bridge suspended by chains over the Reuss, along the side of a great rocky buttress (pierced in 1707 by the tunnel known as the Urnerloch), yet this enlargement of the territory of Uri gave it complete command over the St Gotthard Pass, long commercially important, and now to serve for purposes of war and conquest. Already in 1403 Uri and Obwalden had taken advantage of a quarrel with the duke of Milan as to custom dues at the market of Varese to occupy the long narrow upper Ticino valley on the south of the pass called the Val Leventina; in 1411 the men of the same two lands, exasperated by the insults of the local lords, called on the other members of the League, and all jointly (except Bern) occupied the Val d'Ossola, on the south side of the Simplon Pass. But in 1414 they lost this to Savoy, and, with the object of getting it back, obtained in 1416-1417 the alliance of the men of the Upper Valais, then fighting for freedom, and thus regained (1416) the valley, despite the exertions of the great Milanese general Carmagnola. In 1419 Uri and Obwalden bought from its lord the town and district of Bellinzona. This rapid advance, however, did not approve itself to the duke of Milan, and Carmagnola reoccupied both valleys; the Confederates were not at one with regard to these southern conquests; a small body pressed on in front of the rest, but was cut to pieces at Arbedo near Bellinzona in 1422. A bold attempt in 1425 by a Schwyz, Peter Rissi by name, to recover the Val d'Ossola caused the Confederates to send a force to rescue these adventurers; but the duke of Milan intrigued with the divided Confederates, and finally in 1426, by a payment of a large sum of money and the grant of certain commercial privileges, the Val Leventina, the Val d'Ossola and Bellinzona were formally restored to him. Thus the first attempt of Uri to acquire a footing south of the Alps failed; but a later attempt was successful, leading to the inclusion in the Confederation of what has been called "Italian Switzerland."

The original contrasts between the social condition of the different members of the League became more marked when the period of conquest began, and led to quarrels and ill-feeling in the matter of the Aargau and the Italian conquests which a few years later ripened into a civil war, brought about by the dispute as to the succession to the lands of Frederick, count of Toggenburg, the last male representative of his house. Count Frederick's predecessors had greatly extended their domains, so that they took in not only the Toggenburg or upper valley of the Thur, but Uznach, Sargans, the Rhine valley between Feldkirch and Sargans, the Prättigau and the Davos valley. He himself, the last great feudal lord on the left bank of the Rhine, had managed to secure his vast possessions by making treaties with several members of the League, particularly Zürich (1400) and Schwyz (1417)—from 1428 inclining more and more to Schwyz (then ruled by Ital Riding), as he was disgusted with the arrogant behaviour of Stüssi, the burgomaster of Zürich. His death (April 30, 1436) was the signal for the breaking out of strife. The Prättigau and Davos valley formed the League of the Ten Jurisdictions in Raetia, while Frederick's widow sided with Zürich against Schwyz for different portions of the great inheritance which had been promised them. After being twice defeated, Zürich was forced in 1440 to buy peace by certain cessions (the "Höfe") to Schwyz, the general feeling of the Confederates being opposed to Zürich, so that several of them went so far as to send men and arms to Schwyz. Zürich, however, was bitterly disappointed at these defeats, and had recourse to the policy which she had adopted in 1356 and 1393—an alliance with Austria (concluded in 1442), which now held the imperial throne in the person of Frederick III. Though technically within her rights according to the terms on which she had joined the League in 1351, this act of Zürich caused the greatest irritation in the Confederation, and civil war at once broke out, especially when the Habsburg emperor had been solemnly received and acknowledged in Zürich. In 1443 the Zürich troops were completely defeated at St Jakob on the Sihl, close under the walls of the city, Stüssi himself being slain. Next year the city itself was long besieged. Frederick, unable to get help elsewhere, procured from Charles VII. of France the despatch of a body of Armagnac free lances (the Ecorcheurs), who came, 30,000 strong, under the dauphin Louis, plundering and harrying the land, till at the very gates of the free imperial city of Basel (which had made a twenty years' alliance with Bern), by the leper house of St Jakob on the Birs (Aug. 26, 1444), the desperate resistance of a small body of Confederates (1200 to 1500), till cut to pieces, checked the advance of the freebooters, who sustained such tremendous losses

that, though the victors, they hastily made peace, and returned whence they had come. Several small engagements ensued, Zürich long declining to make peace because the Confederates required, as the result of a solemn arbitration, the abandonment of the Austrian alliance. At length it was concluded in 1450, the Confederates restoring almost all the lands they had won from Zürich. Thus ended the third attempt of Austria to conquer the League by means of Zürich, which used its position as an imperial free city to the harm of the League, and caused the first civil war by which it was distracted.

These fresh proofs of the valour of the Confederates, and of the growing importance of the League, did not fail to produce important results. In 1452 the "Confederates of the Old League of Upper Germany" (as they styled themselves) made their first treaty of alliance with France, a connexion which was destined to exercise so much influence on their history. Round the League there began to gather a new class of allies (known as "*Zugewandte Orte*," or associated districts), more closely joined to it, or to certain members of it, than by a mere treaty of friendship, yet not being admitted to the rank of a full member of the League. Of these associates three, the abbot (1451) and town of St Gall (1454), and the town of Bienne (Biel), through its alliance (1352) with Bern, were given seats and votes in the Diet, being called *socii*; while others, known as *confœderati*, were not so closely bound to the League, such as the Valais (1416-1417), Schaffhausen (1454), Rottweil (1463), Mühlhausen (1466), (to the class of *confœderati* belonged in later times Neuchâtel, 1406-1501, the Three Leagues of Rætia (1497-1498), Geneva (1519-1536), and the bishop of Basel (1579). Appenzell, too, in 1452, rose from the rank of a "protected district" into the class of associates, outside which were certain places "protected" by several members of the League, such as Gersau (1359), the abbey of Engelberg (c. 1421), and the town of Rapperswil (1464). The relation of the "associates" to the League may be compared with the ancient practice of "commendation": they were bound to obey orders in declaring war, making alliances, &c.

In 1439 Sigismund succeeded his father Frederick in the Habsburg lands in Alsace, the Thurgau and Tirol, and, being much irritated by the constant encroachments of the Confederates, in particular by the loss of Rapperswil (1458), declared war against them, but fared very badly. In 1460 the Confederates overran the Thurgau and occupied Sargans. Winterthur was only saved by an heroic defence. Hence in 1461 Sigismund had to give up his claims on those lands and renew the peace for fifteen years, while in 1467 he sold Winterthur to Zürich. Thus the whole line of the Rhine was lost to the Habsburgs, who retained (till 1801) in the territories of the Confederates the Frickthal only. The Thurgovian bailiwicks were governed in common as "subject" lands by all the Confederates except Bern. The touchiness of the now rapidly advancing League was shown by the eagerness with which in 1468 its members took up arms against certain small feudal nobles who were carrying on a harassing guerrilla warfare with their allies Schaffhausen and Mühlhausen. They laid siege to Waldshut, and to buy them off Sigismund in August 1468 engaged to pay 10,000 gulden as damages by the 24th of June 1469; in default of payment the Confederates were to keep for ever the Black Forest, and Waldshut, one of the Black Forest towns on the Rhine. A short time before (1467) the League had made treaties of friendship with Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and with the duke of Milan. All was now prepared for the intricate series of intrigues which led up to the Burgundian War—a great epoch in the history of the League, as it created a common national feeling, enormously raised its military reputation, and brought about the close connexion with certain parts of Savoy, which finally (1803-1815) were admitted into the League.

Sigismund did not know where to obtain the sum he had promised to pay. In this strait he turned to Charles the Bold (properly the Rash), duke of Burgundy, who was then beginning his wonderful career, and aiming at restoring the kingdom of Burgundy. For this purpose Charles wished to marry his daughter and heiress to Maximilian, son of the emperor, and first cousin of Sigismund, in order that the emperor might be induced to give him the Burgundian crown. Hence he was ready to meet Sigismund's advances. On the 9th of May 1469 Charles promised to give Sigismund 50,000 florins, receiving as security for repayment Upper Alsace, the Breisgau, the Sundgau, the Black Forest, and the four Black Forest towns on the Rhine (Rheinfelden, Säckingen, Laufenburg and Waldshut), and agreed to give Sigismund aid against the Swiss, if he was attacked by them. It was not unnatural for Sigismund to think of attacking the League, but Charles's engagement to him is quite inconsistent with the friendly agreement made between Burgundy and the League as late as 1467. The emperor then on his side annulled Sigismund's treaty of 1468 with the Swiss, and placed them under the ban of the Empire. Charles committed the mortgaged lands to Peter von Hagenbach, who proceeded to try to establish his master's power there by such harsh measures as to cause the people to rise against him.

The Swiss in these circumstances began to look towards Louis XI. of France, who had confirmed the treaty of friendship made with them by his father in 1452. Sigismund had applied to him early in 1469 to help him in his many troubles, and to give him aid against the Swiss, but Louis had point-blank refused. Anxious to secure their neutrality in case of his war with Charles, he made a treaty with them on the 13th of August 1470 to this effect. All the evidence goes to show that Sigismund was not a tool in the hands of Louis,

and that Louis, at least at that time, had no definite intention of involving Charles and the Swiss in a war, but wished only to secure his own flank.

Sigismund in the next few years tried hard to get from Charles the promised aid against the Swiss (the money was paid punctually enough by Charles on his behalf), who put him off with various excuses. Charles on his side, in 1471-1472, tried to make an alliance with the Swiss, his efforts being supported by a party in Bern headed by Adrian von Bubenberg. Probably Charles wished to use both Sigismund and the Swiss to further his own interests, but his shifty policy had the effect of alienating both from him. Sigismund, disgusted with Charles, now inclined towards Louis, whose ally he formally became in the summer of 1473—a change which was the real cause of the emperor's flight from Treves in November 1473, when he had come there expressly to crown Charles. The Confederates on their side were greatly moved by the oppression of their friends and allies in Alsace by Hagenbach, and tried in vain (January 1474) to obtain some redress from his master. Charles's too astute policy had thus lost him both Sigismund and the Swiss. They now looked upon Louis, who, thoroughly aware of Charles's ambition, and fearing that his disappointment at Treves would soon lead to open war, aimed at a master stroke—no less than the reconciliation of Sigismund and the Swiss. This on the face of it seemed impracticable, but common need and Louis's dexterous management brought it to pass, so that on the 30th of March 1474 the Everlasting Compact was signed at Constance, by which Sigismund finally renounced all Austrian claims on the lands of the Confederates, and guaranteed them in quiet enjoyment of them; they, on the other hand, agreed to support him if Charles did not give up the mortgaged lands when the money was paid down. The next day the Swiss joined the league of the Alsatian and Rhine cities, as also did Sigismund. Charles was called on to receive the money contributed by the Alsatian cities, and to restore his lands to Sigismund. He, however, took no steps. Within a week the oppressive bailiff Hagenbach was captured, and a month later (May 9, 1474) he was put to death, Bern alone of the Confederates being represented. On the 9th of October the emperor, acting of course at the instance of Sigismund, ordered them to declare war against Charles, which took place on the 25th of October. Next day Louis formally ratified his alliance with the Confederates, promising money and pensions, the latter to be increased if he did not send men. Throughout these negotiations and later Bern directs Swiss policy, though all the Confederates are not quite agreed. She was specially exposed to attack from Charles and Charles's ally (since 1468) Savoy, and her best chance of extending her territory lay towards the west and south. A forward policy was thus distinctly the best for Bern, and this was the line supported by the French party under Nicholas von Diesbach. Adrian von Bubenberg opposing it, though not with any idea of handing over Bern to Charles. The Forest districts, however, were very suspicious of this movement to the west, by which Bern alone could profit, though the League as a whole might lose; then, too, Uri had in 1440 finally won the Val Leventina, and she and her neighbours favoured a southerly policy—a policy which was crowned with success after the gallant victory won at Giornico in 1478 by a handful of men from Zürich, Lucerne, Uri and Schwyz over 12,000 Milanese troops. Thus Uri first gained a permanent footing south of the Alps, not long before Bern won its first conquests from Savoy.

The war in the west was begun by Bern and her allies (Fribourg, Soleure, &c.) by marauding expeditions across the Jura, in which Héricourt (November 1474) and Blamont (August 1475) were taken, both towns being held of Charles by the "sires" de Neuchâtel, a cadet line of the counts of Montbéliard. It is said that in the former expedition the white cross was borne (for the first time) as the ensign of the Confederates, but not in the other. Meanwhile Yolande, the duchess of Savoy, had, through fear of her brother Louis XI. and hatred of Bern, finally joined Charles and Milan (January 1475), the immediate result of which was the capture, by the Bernese and friends (on the way back from a foray on Pontarlier in the free county of Burgundy or Franche-Comté), of several places in Vaud, notably Grandson and Echallens, both held of Savoy by a member of the house of Chalon, princes of Orange (April 1475), as well as of Orbe and Jougne, held by the same, but under the count of Burgundy. In the summer Bern seized on the Savoyard district of Aigle. Soon after (October-November 1475) the same energetic policy won for her the Savoyard towns of Morat, Avenches, Estavayer and Yverdon; while (September) the Upper Valais, which had conquered all Lower or Savoyard Valais, entered into alliance with Bern for the purpose of opposing Savoy by preventing the arrival of Milanese troops. Alarmed at their success, the emperor and Louis deserted (June-September) the Confederates, who thus, by the influence of Louis and Bernese ambition, saw themselves led on and then abandoned to the wrath of Charles, and very likely to lose their new conquests. They had entered on the war as "helpers" of the emperor, and now became principals in the war against Charles, who raised the siege of Neuss, made an alliance with Edward IV. of England, received the surrender of Lorraine, and hastened across the Jura (February 1476) to the aid of his ally Yolande. On the 21st of February Charles laid siege to the castle of Grandson, and after a week's siege the garrison of Bernese and Fribourgers had to surrender (Oct. 28), while, by way of retaliation for the massacre of the garrison of Estavayer in 1475, of the 412 men two only were spared in order to act as executioners of their com-

rades. This hideous news met a large body of the Confederates gathered together in great haste to relieve the garrison, and going to their rendezvous at Neuchâtel, where both the count and town had become allies of Bern in 1406. An advance body of Bernese, Fribourgers and Schwyzers, in order to avoid the castle of Vauxmarcus (seized by Charles), on the shore of the Lake of Neuchâtel, and on the direct road from Neuchâtel to Grandson, climbed over a wooded spur to the north, and attacked (March 2) the Burgundian outposts. Charles drew back his force in order to bring down the Swiss to the more level ground where his cavalry could act, but his rear misinterpreted the order, and when the main Swiss force appeared over the spur the Burgundian army was seized with a panic and fled in disorder. The Swiss had gained a glorious victory, and regained their conquest of Grandson, besides capturing very rich spoil in Charles's camp, parts of which are preserved to the present day in various Swiss armouries. Such was the famous battle of Grandson. Charles at once retired to Lausanne, and set about reorganizing his army. He resolved to advance on Bern by way of Morat (or Murten), which was occupied by a Bernese garrison under Adrian von Bubenberg, and laid siege to it on the 9th of June. The Confederates had now put away all jealousy of Bern, and collected a large army. The decisive battle took place on the afternoon of the 22nd of June, after the arrival of the Zürich contingent under Hans Waldmann. English archers were in Charles's army, while with the Swiss was René, the dispossessed duke of Lorraine. After facing each other many hours in the driving rain, a body of Swiss, by outflanking Charles's van, stormed his palisaded camp, and the Burgundians were soon hopelessly beaten, the losses on both sides (a contrast to Grandson) being exceedingly heavy. Vaud was reoccupied by the Swiss (Savoy having overrun it on Charles's advance); but Louis now stepped in and procured the restoration of that region to Savoy, save Grandson, Morat, Orbe and Echallens, which were to be held by the Bernese jointly with the Fribourgers, Aigle by Bern alone—Savoy at the same time renouncing all its claims over Fribourg. Thus French-speaking districts first became permanently connected with the Confederation, hitherto purely German, and the war had been one for the maintenance of recent conquests, rather than purely in defence of Swiss freedom. Charles tried in vain to raise a third army; René recovered Lorraine, and on the 5th of January 1477, under the walls of Nancy, Charles's wide-reaching plans were ended by his defeat and death, many Swiss being with René's troops. The wish of the Bernese to overrun Franche-Comté was opposed by the older members of the Confederation, and finally, in 1479, Louis, by very large payments, secured the abandonment of all claims on that province, which was annexed to the French crown.

These glorious victories really laid the foundation of Swiss nationality; but soon after them the long-standing jealousy between the civic and rural elements in the Confederation nearly broke it up. This had always hindered common action save in the case of certain pressing questions. In 1370, by the "Parsons Ordinance" (Pfaffenbrief), agreed on by all the Confederates except Bern and Glarus, all residents whether clerics or laymen, in the Confederation who were bound by oath to the duke of Austria were to swear faith to the Confederation, and this oath was to rank before any other; no appeal was to lie to any court, spiritual or lay (except in matrimonial and purely spiritual questions), outside the limits of the Confederation, and many regulations were laid down as to the suppression of private wars and keeping of the peace on the high roads. Further, in 1393, the "Sem-pach Ordinance" was accepted by all the Confederates and Soleure; this was an attempt to enforce police regulations and to lay down "articles of war" for the organization and discipline of the army of the Confederates, minute regulations being made against plundering—women, monasteries and churches being in particular protected and secured. But save these two documents common action was limited to the meeting of two envoys from each member of the Confederation and one from each of the "socii" in the Diet, the powers of which were greatly limited by the instructions brought by each envoy, thus entailing frequent reference to his government, and included foreign relations, war and peace, and common arrangements as to police, pestilence, customs duties, coinage, &c. The decisions of the majority did not bind the minority save in the case of the affairs of the bailiwicks ruled in common. Thus everything depended on common agreement and goodwill. But disputes as to the divisions of the lands conquered in the Burgundian War, and the proposal to admit into the League the towns of Fribourg and Soleure, which had rendered such good help in the war, caused the two parties to form separate unions, for by the latter proposal the number of towns would have been made the same as that of the "Länder," which these did not at all approve. Suspended a moment by the campaign in the Val Leventina, these quarrels broke out after the victory of Giornico; and at the Diet of Stans (December 1481), when it seemed probable that the failure of all attempts to come to an understanding would result in the disruption of the League, the mediation of Nicholas von der Flüe (or Bruder Klaus), a holy hermit of Sachseln in Obwalden, though he did not appear at the Diet in person, succeeded in bringing both sides to reason, and the third great ordinance of the League—the "compact of Stans"—was agreed on. By this the promise of mutual aid and assistance was renewed, especially when one member attacked another, and stress was laid on the duty of the several governments to maintain the peace, and not to help the subjects of any other member in case of a rising. The

treasure and movables captured in the war were to be equally divided amongst the combatants, but the territories and towns amongst the members of the League. As a practical proof of the reconciliation, on the same day the towns of Fribourg and Soleure were received as full members of the Confederation, united with all the other members, though on less favourable terms than usual, for they were forbidden to make alliances, save with the consent of all or of the greater part of the other members. Both towns had long been allied with Bern, whose influence was greatly increased by their admission. Fribourg, founded in 1178 by Berthold IV. of Züringen, had on the extinction of that great dynasty (1218) passed successively by inheritance to Kyburg (1218), by purchase to Austria (1277), and by commendation to Savoy (1452); when Savoy gave up its claims in 1477 Fribourg once more became a free imperial city. She had become allied with Bern as early as 1243, but in the 14th and 15th centuries became Romance-speaking, though from 1483 onwards German gained in strength and was the official language till 1798. Soleure (or Solothurn) had been associated with Bern from 1295, but had in vain sought admission into the League in 1411. Both the new members had done much for Bern in the Burgundian War, and it was for their good service that she now procured them this splendid reward, in hopes perhaps of aid on other important and critical occasions.

The compact of Stans strengthened the bonds which joined the members of the Confederation; and the same centralizing tendency is well seen in the attempt (1483-1489) of Hans Waldmann, the burghmaster of Zürich, to assert the rule of his city over the neighbouring country districts, to place all power in the hands of the gilds (whereas by Brun's constitution the patricians had an equal share), to suppress all minor jurisdictions, and to raise a uniform tax. But this idea of concentrating all powers in the hands of the government aroused great resistance, and led to his overthrow and execution. Peter Kistler succeeded (1470) better at Bern in a reform on the same lines, but less sweeping.

The early history of each member of the Confederation, and of the Confederation itself, shows that they always professed to belong to the Empire, trying to become immediately dependent on the emperor in order to prevent oppression by middle lords, and to enjoy practical liberty. The Empire itself had now become very much of a shadow; cities and princes were gradually asserting their own independence, sometimes breaking away from it altogether. Now, by the time of the Burgundian War, the Confederation stood in a position analogous to that of a powerful free imperial city. As long as the emperor's nominal rights were not enforced, all went well; but, when Maximilian, in his attempt to reorganize the Empire, erected in 1495 at Worms an imperial chamber which had jurisdiction in all disputes between members of the Empire, the Confederates were very unwilling to obey it—partly because they could maintain peace at home by their own authority, and partly because it interfered with their practical independence. Again, their refusal to join the "Swabian League," formed in 1488 by the lords and cities of south Germany to keep the public peace, gave further offence, as well as their fresh alliances with France. Hence a struggle was inevitable, and the occasion by reason of which it broke out was the seizure by the Tyrolese authorities in 1499 of the Münsterthal, which belonged to the "Gotteshausbund," one of the three leagues which had gradually arisen in Rætia. These were the "Gotteshausbund" in 1367 (taking in all the dependents of the cathedral church at Chur living in the Oberhalbstein and Engadine); the "Ober" or "Grauer Bund" in 1395 and 1424 (taking in the abbey of Disentis and many counts and lords in the Vorder Rhein valley, though its name is not derived, as often stated, from the "grey coats" of the first members, but from "grawen" or "grafen," as so many counts formed part of it); and the "League of the Ten Jurisdictions" (Zehngerichtenbund), which arose in the Prättigau and Davos valley (1436) on the death of Count Frederick of Toggenburg, but which, owing to certain Austrian claims in it, was not quite so free as its neighbours. The first and third of these became allied in 1450, but the formal union of the three dates only from 1524, as documentary proof is wanting of the alleged meeting at Vazerol in 1471, though practically before 1524 they had very much in common. In 1497 the Ober Bund, in 1498 the Gotteshausbund, made a treaty of alliance with the Everlasting League or Swiss Confederation, the Ten Jurisdictions being unable to do more than show sympathy, owing to Austrian claims, which were not brought up till 1649 and 1652. Hence this attack on the Münsterthal was an attack on an "associate" member of the Swiss Confederation, Maximilian being supported by the Swabian League; but its real historical importance is the influence it had on the relations of the Swiss to the Empire. The struggle lasted several months, the chief fight being that in the Calven gorge (above Mals; May 22, 1499), in which Benedict Fontana, a leader of the Gotteshausbund men, performed many heroic deeds before his death. But, both sides being exhausted, peace was made at Basel on the 22nd of September 1499. By this the matters in dispute were referred to arbitration, and the emperor annulled all the decisions of the imperial chamber against the Confederation; but nothing was laid down as to its future relations with the Empire. No further real attempt, however, was made to enforce the rights of the emperor, and the Confederation became a state allied with the Empire, enjoying practical independence, though not formally freed till 1648. Thus, 208 years after the origin of the Confederation in 1291, it had got rid of all Austrian claims (1394 and 1474), as well as all practical subjection to

the emperor. But its further advance towards the position of an independent state was long checked by religious divisions within, and by the enormous influence of the French king on its foreign relations.

With the object of strengthening the northern border of the Confederation, two more full members were admitted in 1501—Basel and Schaffhausen—on the same terms as Fribourg and Soleure. The city of Basel had originally been ruled by its bishop, but early in the 14th century it became a free imperial city; before 1501 it had made no permanent alliance with the Confederation, though it had been in continual relations with it. Schaffhausen had grown up round the Benedictine monastery of All Saints, and became in the early 13th century a free imperial city, but was mortgaged to Austria from 1330 to 1415, in which last year the emperor Sigismund declared all Duke Frederick's rights forfeited in consequence of his abetting the flight of Pope John XXII. It bought its freedom in 1478 and became an "associate" of the Confederation in 1454.

A few years later, in 1513, Appenzell, which in 1411 had become a "protected" district, and in 1452 an "associate" member of the Confederation, was admitted as the thirteenth full member; and this remained the number till the fall of the old Confederation in 1798. Round the three original members had gathered first five others, united with the three, but not necessarily with each other; and then gradually there grew up an outer circle, consisting of five more, allied with all the eight old members, but tied down by certain stringent conditions. Constance, which seemed called by nature to enter the League, kept aloof, owing to a quarrel as to criminal jurisdiction in the Thurgau, pledged to it before the district was conquered by the Confederates.

In the first years of the 16th century the influence of the Confederates south of the Alps was largely extended. The system of giving pensions, in order to secure the right of enlisting men within the Confederation, and of capitulations, by which the different members supplied troops, was originated by Louis XI. in 1474, and later followed by many other princes. Though a tribute to Swiss valour and courage, this practice had very evil results, of which the first-fruits were seen in the Milanese troubles (1500–1516), of which the following is a summary. Both Charles VIII. (1484) and Louis XII. (1499 for ten years) renewed Louis XI.'s treaty. The French attempts to gain Milan were largely carried on by the help of Swiss mercenaries, some of whom were on the opposite side; and, as brotherly feeling was still too strong to make it possible for them to fight against one another, Lodovico Sforza's Swiss troops shamefully betrayed him to the French at Novara (1500). In 1500, too, the three Forest districts occupied Bellinzona (with the Val Blenio) at the request of its inhabitants, and in 1503 Louis XII. was forced to cede it to them. He, however, often held back the pay of his Swiss troops, and treated them as mere hirelings, so that when the ten years' treaty came to an end Matthew Schinner, bishop of Sitten (or Sion), induced them to join (1510) the pope, Julius II., then engaged in forming the Holy League to expel the French from Italy. But when, after the battle of Ravenna, Louis XII. became all-powerful in Lombardy, 20,000 Swiss poured down into the Milanese and occupied it, Felix Schmid, the burgomaster of Zürich, naming Maximilian (Lodovico's son) duke of Milan, in return for which he ceded to the Confederates Locarno, Val Maggia, Mendrisio and Lugano (1512), while the Raetian Leagues seized Chiavenna, Bormio and the Valtellina. (The former districts, with Bellinzona, the Val Blenio and the Val Leventina, were in 1803 made into the canton of Ticino, the latter were held by Raetia till 1797.) In 1513 the Swiss completely defeated the French at Novara, and in 1515 Pace was sent by Henry VIII. of England to give pensions and get soldiers. Francis I. at once on his accession (1515) began to prepare to win back the Milanese, and, successfully evading the Swiss awaiting his descent from the Alps, beat them in a pitched battle at Marignano near Milan (Sept. 13, 1515), which broke the Swiss power in north Italy, so that in 1516 a peace was made with France—the Valais, the Three Raetian Leagues and both the abbot and town of St Gall being included on the side of the Confederates. Provision was made for the neutrality of either party in case the other became involved in war, and large pensions were promised. This treaty was extended by another in 1521 (to which Zürich, then under Zwingli's influence, would not agree, holding aloof from the French alliance till 1614), by which the French king might, with the consent of the Confederation, enlist any number of men between 6000 and 16,000, paying them fit wages, and the pensions were raised to 3000 francs annually to each member of the Confederation. These two treaties were the starting-point of later French interference with Swiss affairs.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATION

IN 1499 the Swiss had practically renounced their allegiance to the emperor, the temporal chief of the world according to medieval theory; and in the 16th century a great number of them did the same by the world's spiritual chief, the pope. The scene of the revolt was Zürich, and the leader Ulrich Zwingli (who settled in Zürich at the very end of 1518). But we cannot understand Zwingli's career unless we remember that he was almost more a political reformer than a religious one. In his former character his policy was threefold. He bitterly opposed the French alliance and the pension and mercenary system, for he had seen its evils with his own eyes when serving as chaplain with the troops in the Milanese in 1512 and 1515. Hence in 1521 his influence kept Zürich back from joining in the treaty with Francis I. Then, too, at the time of the Peasant Revolt (1525), he did what he could to lighten the harsh rule of the city over the neighbouring rural districts, and succeeded in getting serfage abolished. Again he had it greatly at heart to secure for Zürich and Bern the chief power in the Confederation, because of their importance and size; he wished to give them extra votes in the Diet, and would have given them two-thirds of the "common bailiwicks" when these were divided. In his character as a religious reformer we must remember that he was a humanist, and deeply read in classical literature, which accounts for his turning the canonries of the Grossmünster into professorships, reviving the old school of the Carolinum, and relying on the arm of the state to carry out religious changes. After succeeding at two public disputations (both held in 1523) his views rapidly gained ground at Zürich, which long, however, stood quite alone, the other Confederates issuing an appeal to await the decision of the asked-for general council, and proposing to carry out by the arm of the state certain small reforms, while clinging to the old doctrines. Zwingli had to put down the extreme wing of the Reformers—the Anabaptists—by force (1525–1526). Quarrels soon arose as to allowing the new views in the "common bailiwicks." The disputation at Baden (1526) was in favour of the maintainers of the old faith; but that at Bern (1528) resulted in securing for the new views the support of that great town, and so matters began to take another aspect. In 1528 Bern joined the union formed in December 1527 in favour of religious freedom by Zürich and Constance (*Christliches Burgrecht*), and her example was followed by Schaffhausen, St Gall, Basel, Bienne and Mülhausen (1528–1529). This attempt virtually to break up the League was met in February 1529 by the offensive and defensive alliance made with King Ferdinand of Hungary (brother of the emperor) by the three Forest districts, with Lucerne and Zug, followed (April 1529) by the "Christliche Vereinigung," or union between these five members of the League. Zürich was greatly moved by this, and, as Zwingli held that for the honour of God war was as necessary as iconoclasm, hostilities seemed imminent; but Bern held back; and the first peace of Kappel was concluded (June 1529), by which the Hungarian alliance was annulled and the principle of "religious parity" (or freedom) was admitted in the case of each member of the League, while in the "common bailiwicks" the majority in each parish was to decide the religion of that parish. This was at once a victory and a check for Zwingli. He tried to make an alliance with the Protestants in Germany, but failed at the meeting at Marburg (October 1529) to come to an agreement with Luther on the subject of the Eucharist, and the division between the Swiss and the German Reformations was stereotyped. Zwingli now developed his views as to the greater weight which Zürich and Bern ought to have in the League,

Quarrels, too, went on in the "common bailiwicks," for the members of the League who clung to the old faith had a majority of votes in matters relating to these districts. Zürich tried to cut off supplies of food from reaching the Romanist members (contrary to the wishes of Zwingli), and on the death of the abbot of St Gall, disregarding the rights of Lucerne, Schwyz and Glarus, who shared with her since 1451 the office of protectors of the abbey, suppressed the monastery, giving the rule of the land and the people to her own officers. Bern in vain tried to moderate this aggressive policy, and the Romanist members of the League indignantly advanced from Zug towards Zürich. Near Kappel, on the 11th of October 1531, the Zürich vanguard under Göldli was (perhaps owing to his treachery) surprised, and despite reinforcements the men of Zürich were beaten, among the slain being Zwingli himself. Another defeat completed the discomfiture of Zürich, and by the second peace of Kappel (November 1531) the principle of "parity" was recognized, not merely in the case of each member of the League and of the "common bailiwicks," but in the latter Romanist minorities in every parish were to have a right to celebrate their own worship. Thus everywhere the rights of a minority were protected from the encroachments of the majority. The "Christliches Burgrecht" was abolished, and Zürich was condemned to pay heavy damages. Bullinger succeeded Zwingli, but this treaty meant that neither side could now try to convert the other wholesale. The League was permanently split into two religious camps: the Romanists, who met at Lucerne, numbered, besides the five already mentioned, Fribourg, Soleure, Appenzell (Inner Rhoden) and the abbot of St Gall (with the Valais and the bishop of Basel), thus commanding sixteen votes (out of twenty-nine) in the Diet; the Evangelicals were Zürich, Bern, Schaffhausen, Appenzell (Ausser Rhoden), Glarus, and the towns of St Gall, Basel and Bienne (with Graubünden), who met at Aarau.

Bern had her eyes always fixed upon the Savoyard lands to the south-west, in which she had got a footing in 1475, and now made zeal for religious reforms the excuse for resuming her advance policy. In 1526 Guillaume Farel, a preacher from Dauphiné, had been sent to reform Aigle, Morat and Neuchâtel. In 1532 he came to Geneva, an ancient city of which the rule had long been disputed by the prince-bishop, the burgesses and the house of Savoy, the latter holding the neighbouring districts. She had become in 1519 the ally of Fribourg, in 1526 that of Bern also; and in 1530, by their influence, a peace was made between the contending parties. The religious changes introduced by Farel greatly displeased Fribourg, which abandoned the alliance (1534), and in 1535 the Reformation was firmly planted in the city. The duke of Savoy, however, took up arms against Bern (1536), who overran Gex, Vaud and the independent bishopric of Lausanne, as well as the Chablais to the south of the lake. Geneva was only saved by the unwillingness of the citizens. Bern thus ruled north and south of the lake, and carried matters with a high hand. Shortly after this John Calvin, a refugee from Picardy, was, when passing through Geneva, detained by Farel to aid him, and, after an exile from 1538-1541, owing to opposition of the papal party and of the burghers, who objected to Bernese rule, he was recalled (1541) and set up his wonderful theocratic government in the city, in 1553 burning Servetus, the Unitarian, and in 1555 expelling many who upheld municipal liberty, replacing them by French, English, Italians and Spaniards as new burghers, whose names are still frequent in Geneva (*e. g.* Candolle, Mallet, Diodati). His theological views led to disputes with the Zürich Reformers, which were partly settled by the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549, and more completely by the *Helvetic Confession* of 1562-1566, which formed the basis of union between the two parties.

By the time of Calvin's death (1564) the old faith had begun to take the offensive; the reforms made by the Council of Trent urged on the Romanists to make an attempt to recover lost ground. Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, the hero of St Quentin (1557), and one of the greatest generals of the day, with the support of the Romanist members of the League, demanded the restoration of the districts seized by Bern in 1536, and on the 30th of October 1564 the Treaty of Lausanne confirmed the decision of the other Confederates sitting as arbitrators (according to the old constitutional custom). By this treaty Gex, the Genevois and the Chablais were to be given back, while Lausanne, Vevey, Chillon, Villeneuve, Nyon, Avenches and Yverdon were to be kept by Bern, who engaged to maintain the old rights and liberties of Vaud. Thus Bern lost the lands south of the lake, in which St Francis of Sales, the exiled prince-bishop of Geneva (1602-1622), at once proceeded to carry out the restoration of the old faith. In 1555 Bern and Fribourg, as creditors of the debt-laden count, divided the county of Gruyère, thus getting French-speaking subjects. In 1558 Geneva renewed her alliance with Bern, and in 1584 she made one with Zürich. The duke of Savoy made several vain attempts to get hold of Geneva, the last (in 1602) being known as the "escalade."

The decrees of the Council of Trent had been accepted fully by the Romanist members of the League, so far as relates to dogma, but not as regards discipline or the relations of Church and State, the sovereign rights and jurisdiction of each state being always carefully reserved. The counter-Reformation, however, or reaction in favour of the old faith, was making rapid progress in the Confederation, mainly through the indefatigable exertions of Charles Borromeo, from 1560 to 1584 archbishop of Milan (in which diocese the Italian

bailiwicks were included), and nephew of Pius IV., supported at Lucerne by Ludwig Pflyffer, who, having been (1562-1570) the chief of the Swiss mercenaries in the French wars of religion, did so much till his death (1594) to further the religious reaction at home that he was popularly known as the "Swiss king." In 1574 the Jesuits, the great order of the reaction, were established at Lucerne; in 1579 a papal nuncio came to Lucerne; Charles Borromeo founded the "Collegium Helveticum" at Milan for the education of forty-two young Swiss, and the Catholic members of the League made an alliance with the bishop of Basel; in 1581 the Capuchins were introduced to influence the more ignorant classes. Most important of all was the Golden or Borromeo League, concluded (Oct. 5, 1586) between the seven Romanist members of the Confederation (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Fribourg and Soleure) for the maintenance of the true faith in their territories, each engaging to punish backsliding members and to help each other if attacked by external enemies notwithstanding any other leagues, old or new. This league marks the final breaking up of the Confederation into two great parties, which greatly hindered its progress. The Romanist members had a majority in the Diet, and were therefore able to refuse admittance to Geneva, Strassburg and Mühlhausen. Another result of these religious differences was the breaking up of Appenzell into two parts (1597), each sending one representative to the Diet—"Inner Rhoden" remaining Romanist, "Ausser Rhoden" adopting the new views. We may compare with this the action of Zürich in 1555, when she received the Protestant exiles (bringing with them the silk-weaving industry) from Locarno and the Italian bailiwicks into her burghership, and Italian names are found there to this day (e. g. Orelli, Muralti).

In the Thirty Years' War the Confederation remained neutral, being bound both to Austria (1474) and to France (1516), and neither religious party wishing to give the other an excuse for calling in foreign armies. But the troubles in Raetia threatened entanglements. Austria wished to secure the Münsterthal (belonging to the League of the Ten Jurisdictions), and Spain wanted the command of the passes leading from the Valtellina (conquered by the leagues of Raetia in 1512), the object being to connect the Habsburg lands of Tirol and Milan. In the Valtellina the rule of the Three Raetian Leagues was very harsh, and Spanish intrigues easily brought about the massacre of 1620, by which the valley was won, the Romanist members of the Confederation stopping the troops of Zürich and Bern. In 1622 the Austrians conquered the Prättigau, over which they still had certain feudal rights. French troops regained the Valtellina in 1624, but it was occupied once more in 1629 by the imperial troops, and it was not till 1635 that the French, under Rohan, finally succeeded in holding it. The French, however, wished to keep it permanently; hence new troubles arose, and in 1637 the natives, under George Jenatsch, with Spanish aid drove them out, the Spaniards themselves being forced to resign it in 1639. It was only in 1649 and 1652 that the Austrian rights in the Prättigau were finally bought up by the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, which thus gained its freedom.

In consequence of Ferdinand II.'s edict of restitution (1629), by which the *status quo* of 1552 was re-established—the high-water mark of the counter-Reformation—the abbot of St Gall tried to make some religious changes in his territories, but the protest of Zürich led to the Baden compromise of 1632, by which, in the case of disputes on religious matters arising in the "common bailiwicks," the decision was to be, not by a majority of the cantons, but by means of friendly discussion—a logical application of the doctrine of religious parity—or by arbitration.

But by far the most important event in Swiss history in this age is the formal freeing of the Confederation from the empire. Basel had been admitted a member of the League in 1501, two years after the Confederation had been practically freed from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, though the city was included in the new division of the Empire into "circles" (1521), which did not take in the older members of the Confederation. Basel, however, refused to admit this jurisdiction; the question was taken up by France and Sweden at the congress of Münster, and formed the subject of a special clause in both the treaties of Westphalia, by which the city of Basel and the other "Helvetiorum cantones" were declared to be "in the possession, or almost in the possession, of entire liberty and exemption from the empire, and *nullatenus* subject to the imperial tribunals." This was intended to mean formal exemption from all obligations to the empire (with which the Confederation was connected hereafter simply as a friend), and to be a definitive settlement of the question. Thus by the events of 1499 and 1648 the Confederation had become an independent European state, which, by the treaty of 1516, stood as regards France in a relation of neutrality.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

IN 1668, in consequence of Louis XIV.'s temporary occupation of the Franche Comté, an old scheme for settling the number of men to be sent by each member of the Confederation to the joint army, and the appointment of a council of war in war time, that is, an attempt to create a common military organization, was accepted by the Diet, which was to send two deputies to the council, armed with full political powers. This agreement, known as the *Defensionale*, is the only instance of joint and unanimous action in this miserable period of Swiss history, when religious divisions crippled the energy of the Confederation.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the Confederation was practically a dependency of France. In 1614 Zürich for the first time joined in the treaty, which was renewed in 1663 with special provisions as regards the Protestant Swiss mercenaries in the king's pay and a promise of French neutrality in case of civil war in the League. The Swiss had to stand by while Louis XIV. won Alsace (1648), Franche Comté (1678) and Strassburg (1681). But, as Louis inclined more and more to an anti-Protestant policy, the Protestant members of the League favoured the Dutch military service; and it was through their influence that in 1707 the "states" of the principality of Neuchâtel, on the extinction of the Longueville line of these princes, decided in favour of the king of Prussia (representing the overlords—the house of Chalon-Orange) as against the various French pretenders claiming from the Longueville dynasty by descent or by will. In 1715 the Romanist members of the League, in hopes of retrieving their defeat of 1712 (see below), agreed, while renewing the treaty and capitulations, to put France in the position of the guarantor of their freedom, with rights of interfering in case of attack from within or from without, whether by counsel or arms, while she promised to procure restitution of the lands lost by them in 1712. This last clause was simply the surrender of Swiss independence, and was strongly objected to by the Protestant members of the Confederation, so that in 1777 it was dropped, when all the Confederates made a fresh defensive alliance, wherein their sovereignty and independence were expressly set forth. Thus France had succeeded to the position of the empire with regard to the Confederation, save that her claims were practically asserted and voluntarily admitted.

Between 1648 and 1798 the Confederation was distracted by religious divisions and feelings ran very high. A scheme to set up a central administration fell through in 1655, through jealousy of Bern and Zürich, the proposers. In 1656 a question as to certain religious refugees, who were driven from Schwyz and took refuge at Zürich, brought about the first Vилlemergen War, in which the Romanists were successful, and procured a clause in the treaty asserting very strongly the absolute sovereignty, in religious as well as in political matters, of each member of the League within its own territories, while in the "common bailiwicks" the Baden arrangement (1632) was to prevail. Later, the attempt of the abbot of St Gall to enforce his rights in the Toggenburg swelled into the second Vилlemergen War (1712), which turned out very ill for the defeated Romanists. Zürich and Bern were henceforth to hold in severalty Baden, Rapperswil, and part of the "common bailiwicks" of the Aargau, both towns being given a share in the government of the rest, and Bern in that of Thurgau and Rheintal, from which, as well as from that part of Aargau, she had been carefully excluded in 1415 and 1460. The only thing that prospered was the principle of "religious parity," which was established completely, as regards *both* religions, within each parish in the common "bailiwick."

The Diet had few powers; the Romanists had the majority there; the sovereign rights of each member of the League and the limited mandate of the envoys effectually checked all progress. Zürich, as the leader of the League, managed matters when the Diet was not sitting, but could not enforce her orders. The Confederation was little more than a collection of separate atoms, and it is really marvellous that it did not break up through its own weakness.

In these same two centuries, the chief feature in domestic Swiss politics is the growth of an aristocracy; the power of voting and the power of ruling are placed in the hands of a small class. This is chiefly seen in Bern, Lucerne, Fribourg and Soleure, where there were not the primitive democracies of the Forest districts nor the government by gilds as at Zürich, Basel and Schaffhausen. It was effected by refusing to admit any new burghers, a practice which dates from the middle of the 16th century, and is connected (like the similar movement in the smaller local units of the "communes" in the rural districts) with the question of poor relief after the suppression of the monasteries. Outsiders (Hinter-sasse or Niedergelassene) had no political rights, however long they might have resided, while the privileges of burghership were strictly hereditary. Further, within the burghers, a small class succeeded in securing the monopoly of all public offices, which was kept up by the practice of co-opting, and was known as the "patriciate." So in Bern, out of 360 burgher families 69 only towards the close of the 18th century formed the ruling oligarchy—and, though to foreigners the government seemed admirably managed, yet the last thing that could be said of it was that it was democratic. In 1749 Samuel Henzi (disgusted at being refused the post of town librarian) made a fruitless attempt to overthrow this oligarchy, like the lawyer, Pierre Fatio at Geneva in 1707. The harsh character of Bernese rule (and the same holds good with reference to Uri and the Val Leventina) was shown in the great strictness with which its subject land Vaud was kept in hand: it was ruled as a conquered land by a benevolent despot, and we can feel no surprise that Major J. D. A. Davel in 1723 tried to free his native land, or that it was in Vaud that the principles of the French Revolution were most eagerly welcomed. Another result of this aristocratic tendency was the way in which the cities despised the neighbouring country districts, and managed gradually to deprive them of their equal political rights and to levy heavy taxes upon them. These and other grievances (the fall in the price of food after the close of the Thirty Years' War, the lowering of the value of the coin, &c.), combined with the presence of many soldiers discharged after the great war, led to the great Peasant Revolt (1653) in the territories of Bern, Soleure, Lucerne and Basel, interesting historically as being the first popular rising since the old days of the 13th and 14th centuries, and because reminiscences of legends connected with those times led to the appearance of the "three Tells," who greatly stirred up the people. The rising was put down at the cost of much bloodshed, but the demands of the peasants were not granted. Yet during this period of political powerlessness a Swiss literature first arises: Conrad Gesner and Giles Tschudi in the 16th century are succeeded by J. J. Scheuchzer, A. von Haller, J. C. Lavater, J. J. Bodmer, H. B. de Saussure, J. J. Rousseau, J. von Müller; the taste for Swiss travel is stimulated by the publication (1793) of the first real Swiss guide-book by J. G. Ebel based on the old *Deliciae*; industry thrived greatly. The residence of such brilliant foreign writers as Gibbon and Voltaire within or close to the territories of the Confederation helped on this remarkable intellectual revival. Political aspirations were not, however, wholly crushed, and found their centre in the Helvetic Society, founded in 1762 by F. U. Balthasar and others.

The Confederation and France had been closely connected for so long that the outbreak of the French Revolution could not fail to affect the Swiss. The Helvetic Club, founded at Paris in 1790 by several exiled Vaudois and Fribourgers, was the centre from which the new ideas were spread in the western part of the Confederation, and risings directed or stirred up. In 1790 the Lower Valais rose against the oppressive rule of the upper districts; in 1791 Porrentruy defied the prince-bishop of Basel, despite the imperial troops he summoned, and proclaimed (November 1792) the "Rauracian republic," which three months later (1793) became the French department of the Mont Terrible; Geneva was only saved (1792) from France by a force sent from Zürich and Bern; while the massacre of the Swiss guard at the Tuileries on the 10th of August 1792 aroused intense indignation. The rulers, however, unable to enter into the new ideas, contented themselves with suppressing them by force, e. g. Zürich in the case of Stäfa (1795). St Gall managed to free itself from its prince-abbot (1795-1797), but the Leagues of Raetia so oppressed their subjects in the Valtellina that in 1797 Bonaparte (after conquering the Milanese from the Austrians) joined them to the Cisalpine republic. The Diet was distracted by party struggles and the fall of the old Confederation was not far distant. The rumours of the vast treasures stored up at Bern, and the desire of securing a bulwark against Austrian attack, specially turned the attention of the directory towards the Confederation; and this was utilized by the heads of the Reform party in the Confederation—Peter Ochs (1752-1821), the burgomaster of Basel, and Frédéric César Laharpe (1754-1838; tutor, 1783-1794, to the later tsar Alexander I.), who had left his home in Vaud through disgust at Bernese oppression, both now wishing for aid from outside in order to free their land from the rule of the oligarchy.

Hence, when Laharpe, at the head of some twenty exiles from Vaud and Fribourg, called (Dec. 9, 1797) on the directory to protect the liberties of Vaud, which, so he said (by a bit of purely apocryphal history), France by the treaty of 1565 was bound to guarantee, his appeal found a ready answer. In February 1798 French troops occupied Mülhausen and Bienne (Biel), as well as those parts of the lands of the prince-bishop of Basel (St. Imier and the Münsterthal) as regards which he had been since 1579 the ally of the Catholic members of the Confederation. Another army entered Vaud (February 1798), when the "Lemanic republic" was proclaimed, and the Diet broke up in dismay without taking any steps to avert the coming storm. Brune and his army occupied Fribourg and Soleure, and, after fierce fighting at Neuenegg, entered (March 5) Bern, deserted by her allies and distracted by quarrels within. With Bern, the stronghold of the aristocratic party, fell the old Confederation. The revolution triumphed throughout the country. Brune (March 16-19) put forth a wonderful scheme by which the Confederation with its "associates" and "subjects" was to be split into three republics—the Tellgau (*i. e.* the Forest districts), the Rhodanic (*i. e.* Vaud, the Valais, the Bernese Oberland and the Italian bailiwicks), and the Helvetic (*i. e.* the northern and eastern portions); but the directory disapproved of this (March 23), and on the 29th of March the "Helvetic republic, one and indivisible," was proclaimed. This was accepted by ten cantons only as well as (April 12) the constitution drafted by Ochs. By the new scheme the territories of the Everlasting League were split up into twenty-three (later nineteen, Raetia only coming in in 1799) administrative districts, called "cantons," a name now officially used in Switzerland for the first time, though it may be found employed by foreigners in the French treaty of 1452, in Commines and Machiavelli, and in the treaties of Westphalia (1648). A central government was set up, with its seat at Lucerne, comprising a senate and a great council, together forming the legislature, and named by electors chosen by the people in the proportion of 1 to every 100 citizens, with an executive of five directors chosen by the legislature, and having four ministers as subordinates or "chief secretaries." A supreme court of justice was set up; a status of Swiss citizenship was recognized; and absolute freedom to settle in any canton was given, the political "communes" being now composed of all residents, and not merely of the burghers. For the first time an attempt was made to organize the Confederation as a single state, but the change was too sweeping to last, for it largely ignored the local patriotism which had done so much to create the Confederation, though more recently it had made it politically powerless. The three Forest districts rose in rebellion against the invaders and the new constitutions which destroyed their ancient prerogatives; but the valiant resistance of the Schwyzers, under Alois Reding, on the heights of Morgarten (April and May), and that of the Unterwaldners (August and September), were put down by French armies. The proceedings of the French, however, soon turned into disgust and hatred the joyful feelings with which they had been hailed as liberators. Geneva was annexed to France (April 1798); Gersau, after an independent existence of over 400 years, was made a mere district of Schwyz; immense fines were levied and the treasury at Bern pillaged; the land was treated as if it had been conquered. The new republic was compelled to make a very close offensive and defensive alliance with France, and its directors were practically nominated from Paris. In June-October 1799 Zürich, the Forest cantons and Raetia became the scene of the struggles of the Austrians (welcomed with joy) against the French and Russians. The manner, too, in which the reforms were carried out alienated many, and, soon after the directory gave way to the consulate in Paris (18 Brumaire or Nov. 10, 1799) the Helvetic directory (January 1800) was replaced by an executive committee.

The scheme of the Helvetic republic had gone too far in the direction of centralization; but it was not easy to find the happy mean, and violent discussions went on between the "Unitary" (headed by Ochs and Laharpe) and "Federalist" parties. Many drafts were put forward and one actually submitted to but rejected by a popular vote (June 1802). In July 1802 the French troops were withdrawn from Switzerland by Bonaparte, ostensibly to comply with the treaty of Amiens, really to show the Swiss that their best hopes lay in appealing to him. The Helvetic government was gradually driven back by armed force, and the Federalists seemed getting the best of it, when (Oct. 4) Bonaparte offered himself as mediator, and summoned ten of the chief Swiss statesmen to Paris to discuss matters with him (the "Consulta"—December 1802). He had long taken a very special interest in Swiss matters, and in 1802 had given to the Helvetic republic the Frickthal (ceded to France in 1801 by Austria), the last Austrian possession within the borders of the Confederation. On the other hand, he had made (August 1802) the Valais into an independent republic. In the discussions he pointed out that Swiss needs required a federal constitution and a neutral position guaranteed by France. Finally (Feb. 19, 1803) he laid before the Consulta the Act of Mediation which he had elaborated and which they had perforce to accept—a document which formed a new departure in Swiss history, and the influence of which is visible in the present constitution.

Throughout, "Switzerland" is used for the first time as the official name of the Confederation. The thirteen members of the old Confederation before 1798 are set up again, and to them are added six new cantons—two (St. Gall and Graubünden or Grisons) having

been formerly "associates," and the four others being made up of the subject lands conquered at different times—Aargau (1415), Thurgau (1460), Ticino or Tessin (1440, 1500, 1512), and Vaud (1536). In the Diet, six cantons which had a population of more than 100,000 (viz. Bern, Zürich, Vaud, St Gall, Graubünden and Aargau) were given two votes, the others having but one apiece, and the deputies were to vote freely within limits, though not against their instructions. Meetings of the Diet were to be held alternately at Fribourg, Bern, Soleure, Basel, Zürich and Lucerne—the chief magistrate of each of these cantons being named for that year the "landamman of Switzerland." The "landsgemeinden," or popular assemblies, were restored in the democratic cantons, the cantonal governments in other cases being in the hands of a "great council" (legislative) and the "small council" (executive)—a property qualification being required both for voters and candidates. No canton was to form any political alliances abroad or at home. The "communes" were given larger political rights, the burghers who owned and used the common lands became more and more private associations. There was no Swiss burghership, as in 1798, but perfect liberty of settlement in any canton. There were to be no privileged classes or subject lands. A very close alliance with France (on the basis of that of 1516) was concluded (Sept. 27, 1803). The whole constitution and organization were far better suited for the Swiss than the more symmetrical system of the Helvetic republic; but, as it was guaranteed by Bonaparte, and his influence was predominant, the whole fabric was closely bound up with him, and fell with him. Excellent in itself, the constitution set forth in the Act of Mediation failed by reason of its setting.

For ten years Switzerland enjoyed peace and prosperity under the new constitution. Pestalozzi and Fellenberg worked out their educational theories; K. Escher of Zürich embanked the Linth, and his family was thence called "von der Linth"; the central government prepared many schemes for the common welfare. On the other hand, the mediator (who became emperor in 1804) lavishly expended his Swiss troops, the number of which could only be kept up by a regular blood tax, while the "Berlin decrees" raised the price of many articles. In 1806 the principality of Neuchâtel was given to Marshal Berthier; Tessin was occupied by French troops from 1810 to 1813, and in 1810 the Valais was made into the department of the Simplon, so as to secure that pass. At home, the liberty of moving from one canton to another (though given by the constitution) was, by the Diet of 1805, restricted by requiring ten years' residence, and then not granting political rights in the canton or a right of profiting by the communal property. As soon as Napoleon's power began to wane (1812–1813), the position of Switzerland became endangered. Despite the personal wishes of the tsar (a pupil of Laharpe's), the Austrians, supported by the reactionary party in Switzerland, and without any real resistance on the part of the Diet, as well as the Russian troops, crossed the frontier on the 21st of December 1813, and on the 29th of December the Diet was induced to declare the abolition of the 1803 constitution, guaranteed, like Swiss neutrality, by Napoleon. Bern headed the party which wished to restore the old state of things, but Zürich and the majority stood out for the nineteen cantons. The powers exercised great pressure to bring about a meeting of deputies from all the nineteen cantons at Zürich (April 6, 1814, "the long Diet"); party strife was very bitter, but on the 12th of September it decided that the Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva should be raised from the rank of "associates" to that of full members of the Confederation (thus making up the familiar twenty-two). As compensation the congress of Vienna (March 20, 1815) gave Bern the town of Bienne (Biel) and all (save a small part which went to Basel) of the territories of the prince-bishop of Basel ("the Bernese Jura"); but the Valtellina was granted to Austria, and Mühlhausen was not freed from France.

CHAPTER V

THE PACT OF 1815

ON the 7th of August 1815 the new constitution was sworn to by all the cantons save Nidwalden, the consent of which was only obtained (Aug. 30) by armed force, a delay for which she paid by seeing Engelberg and the valley above (acquired by Nidwalden in 1798) given to Obwalden. By the new constitution the sovereign rights of each canton were fully recognized, and a return made to the lines of the old constitution, though there were to be no subject lands, and political rights were not to be the exclusive privilege of any class of citizens. Each canton had one vote in the Diet, where an absolute majority was to decide all matters save foreign affairs, when a majority of three-fourths was required. The management of current business, &c., shifted every two years between the governments of Zürich, Bern and Lucerne (the three "Vororte"). The monasteries were guaranteed in their rights and privileges; and no canton was to make any alliance contrary to the rights of the Confederation or of any other canton. Provision was made for a Federal army. Finally, the Congress, on the 20th of November 1815, placed Switzerland and parts of North Savoy (Chablais, Faucigny and part of the Genevois) under the guarantee of the Great Powers, who engaged to maintain their neutrality, thus freeing Switzerland from her 300 years' subservience to France, and compensating in some degree for the reactionary nature of the new Swiss constitution when compared with that of 1803.

The cities at once secured for themselves in the cantonal great councils an overwhelming representation over the neighbouring country districts, and the agreement of 1805 as to migration from one canton to another was renewed (1819) by twelve cantons. For some time there was little talk of reforms, but in 1819 the Helvetic Society definitely became a political society, and the foundation in 1824 of the Marks-men's Association enabled men from all cantons to meet together. A few cantons (notably Tessin) were beginning to make reforms, when the influence of the July revolution (1830) in Paris and the sweeping changes in Zürich led the Diet to declare (Dec. 27) that it would not interfere with any reforms of cantonal constitutions provided they were in agreement with the pact of 1815. Hence for the next few years great activity in this direction was displayed, and most of the cantons reformed themselves, save the most conservative (*e. g.* Uri, Glarus) and the advanced who needed no changes (*e. g.* Geneva, Graubünden). Provision was always made for revising these constitutions at fixed intervals, for the changes were not felt to be final, and seven cantons—Zürich, Bern, Lucerne, Soleure, St Gall, Aargau and Thurgau—joined together to guarantee their new free constitutions (Siebener Concordat of March 17, 1832). Soon after, the question of revising the Federal pact was brought forward by a large majority of cantons in the Diet (July 17), whereon, by the league of Sarnen (Nov. 14), the three Forest cantons, with Neuchâtel, the city of Basel and the Valais, agreed to maintain the pact of 1815 and to protest against the separation of Basel in two halves (for in the reform struggle Schwyz and Basel had been split up, though the split was permanent only in the latter case). A draft constitution providing for a Federal administration distinct from the cantons could not secure a majority in its favour; a reaction against reform set in, and the Diet was forced to sanction (1833) the division of Basel into the "city" and "country" divisions (each with half a vote in the Diet), though fortunately in Schwyz the quarrel was healed. Religious quarrels further stirred up strife in connexion with Aargau, which was a canton where religious parity prevailed, later in others. In Zürich the extreme pretensions of the Radicals and freethinkers

(illustrated by offering a chair of theology in the university to D. F. Strauss of Tübingen because of his *Life of Jesus*, then recently published) brought about a great reaction in 1839, when Zürich was the "Vorort." In Aargau the parties were very evenly balanced, and, when in 1840, on occasion of the revision of the constitution, the Radicals had a popular majority the aggrieved clerics stirred up a revolt (1840), which was put down, but which gave their opponents, headed by Augustine Keller, an excuse for carrying a vote in the great council to suppress the eight monasteries in the canton (Jan. 1841). This was flatly opposed to the pact of 1815, which the Diet by a small majority decided must be upheld (April 1841), though after many discussions it determined (Aug. 31, 1843) to accept the compromise by which the men's convents only were to be suppressed, and declared that the matter was now settled. On this the seven Romanist cantons—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Fribourg and the Valais—formed (Sept. 13, 1843) a "Sonderbund" or separate league, which (February 1844) issued a manifesto demanding the reopening of the question and the restoration of *all* the monasteries. Like the Radicals in former years the Romanists went too far and too fast, for in October 1844 the clerical party in Lucerne (in the majority since 1841, and favouring the reaction in the Valais) officially invited in the Jesuits and gave them high posts, an act which created all the more sensation because Lucerne was the "Vorort." Twice (December 1844 and March 1845) parties of free lances tried to capture the city. In December 1845 the Sonderbund turned itself into an armed confederation, ready to appeal to war in defence of the rights of each canton. The Radicals carried Zürich in April 1845 and Bern in February 1846, but a majority could not be secured in the Diet till Geneva (Oct. 1846) and St Gall (May 1847) were won by the same party. On the 20th of July 1847, the Diet, by a small majority, declared that the Sonderbund was contrary to the Federal pact, which on the 16th of August it was resolved to revise, while on the 3rd of September it was decided to invite each canton to expel the Jesuits. Most of the Great Powers favoured the Sonderbund, but England took the contrary view, and the attempt of Metternich, supported by Louis Philippe, to bring about European intervention, on the plea of upholding the treaties of Vienna, was frustrated by the policy of masterly inactivity pursued by Lord Palmerston, who delayed giving an answer till the forces of the Sonderbund had been defeated, a friendly act that is still gratefully remembered in the country. On the 29th of October the deputies of the unyielding cantons left the Diet, which ordered on the 4th of November that its decree should be enforced by arms. The war was short (Nov. 10–29), mainly owing to the ability of the general, G. H. Dufour (1787–1875), and the loss of life trifling. One after another the rebellious cantons were forced to surrender, and, as the Paris revolution of February 1848, entailing the retirement of Guizot (followed three weeks later by that of Metternich), occupied all the attention of the Great Powers (who by the constitution of 1815 should have been consulted in the revision of the pact), the Swiss were enabled to settle their own affairs quietly. Schwyz and Zug abolished their "landsgemeinden," and the seven were condemned to pay the costs of the war (ultimately defrayed by subscription), which had been waged rather on religious than on strict particularist or states-rights grounds. The Diet meanwhile debated the draft constitution drawn up by Johann Conrad Kern (1808–1888) of Thurgau and Henri Druey (1799–1855) of Vaud, which in the summer of 1848 was accepted by fifteen and a half cantons, the minority consisting of the three Forest cantons, the Valais, Zug, Tessin and Appenzell (Inner Rhoden), and it was proclaimed on the 12th of September.

The new constitution inclined rather to the Act of Mediation than to the system which prevailed before 1798. A status of "Swiss citizenship" was set up, closely joined to cantonal citizenship; a man settling in a canton not being his birthplace got cantonal citizenship after a residence of at most two years, but was excluded from all local rights in the "commune" where he might reside. A Federal or central government was set up, to which the cantons gave up a certain part of their sovereign rights, retaining the rest. The Federal Legislature (or assembly) was made up of two houses—the Council of States (*Ständerat*), composed of two deputies from each canton, whether small or great (44 in all), and the National Council (*Nationalrat*), made up of deputies elected for three years, in the proportion of one for every 20,000 souls or fraction over 10,000, the electors being all Swiss citizens. The Federal council or executive (*Bundesrat*) consisted of seven members elected by the Federal Assembly sitting as a congress; they were jointly responsible for all business, though for sake of convenience there were various departments, and their chairman was called the president of the Confederation. The Federal judiciary (*Bundesgericht*) was made up of eleven members elected for three years by the Federal Assembly sitting in congress; its jurisdiction was chiefly confined to civil cases, in which the Confederation was a party (if a canton, the Federal council may refer the case to the Federal tribunal), but took in also great political crimes—all constitutional questions, however, being reserved for the Federal Assembly. A Federal university and a polytechnic school were to be founded. All military capitulations were forbidden in the future. Every canton must treat Swiss citizens who belong to one of the Christian confessions like their own citizens, for the right of free settlement is given to all such, though they acquired no rights in the "commune." All Christians were guaranteed the exercise of their religion,

but the Jesuits and similar religious orders were not to be received in any canton. German, French and Italian were recognized as national languages.

The constitution as a whole marked a great step forward; though very many rights were still reserved to the cantons, yet there was a fully organized central government. Almost the first act of the Federal Assembly was to exercise the power given them of determining the home of the Federal authorities, and on the 28th of November 1848 Bern was chosen, though Zürich still ranks as the first canton in the Confederation. Soon after 1848 a beginning was made of organizing the different public services, which had now been brought within the jurisdiction of the central Federal authority. Thus in 1849 a uniform letter post service was established, in 1850 a single coinage replaced the intricate cantonal currencies, while all customs duties between cantons were abolished, in 1851 the telegraph service was organized, while all weights and measures were unified (in 1868 the metrical system was allowed, and in 1875 declared obligatory and universal), in 1854 roads and canals were taken in hand, while finally in 1855 the Federal Polytechnic School at Zürich was opened, though the Federal university authorized by the new constitution has not yet been set up. These were some of the non-political benefits of the creation of a Federal central executive. But in 1852 the Federal Assembly decided to leave the construction of railways to private enterprise and so had to buy them up in 1903 at a vastly enhanced price.

By this early settlement of disputes Switzerland was protected from the general revolutionary movement of 1848, and in later years her political history has been uneventful, though she has felt the weight of the great European crises in industrial and social matters.

The position of Neuchâtel, as a member of the Confederation (as regards its government only) and as a principality ruled by the king of Prussia, whose rights had been expressly recognized by the congress of Vienna, was uncertain. She had not sent troops in 1847, and, though in 1848 there was a republican revolution there, the prince did not recognize the changes. Finally, a royalist conspiracy in September 1856 to undo the work of 1848 caused great excitement and anger in Switzerland, and it was only by the mediation of Napoleon III. and the other powers that the prince renounced (1857) all his rights, save his title, which his successor (the German emperor) has also dropped. Since that time Neuchâtel has been an ordinary member of the Confederation. In 1859-1860 the cession of Savoy (part of it neutralized in 1815) to France aroused considerable indignation, and in 1862 the long-standing question of frontiers in the Vallée des Dappes was finally arranged with France. In 1871 many French refugees, especially Bourbaki's army, were most hospitably received and sheltered. The growth of the Old Catholics after the Vatican Council (1870) caused many disturbances in western Switzerland, especially in the Bernese Jura. The attack was led by Bishop Eugène Lachat (1819-1886) of Basel, whose see was suppressed by several cantons in 1873, but was set up again in 1884 though still not recognized by Bern. The appointment by the pope of the abbé Gaspard Mermillod (1824-1892) as "apostolic vicar" of Geneva, which was separated from the diocese of Fribourg, led to Monseigneur Mermillod's banishment from Switzerland (1873), but in 1883 he was raised to the vacant see of Lausanne and Geneva and allowed by the Federal authorities to return, but Geneva refused to recognize him, though he was created a cardinal in 1890. An event of great importance to Switzerland was the opening of the St Gotthard tunnel, which was begun in 1871 and opened in 1882; by it the Forest cantons seem likely to regain the importance which was theirs in the early days of the Confederation.



By courtesy of the Swiss Federal Railways

BERNE.

Photo Hehrli Kùlthaus.

BERNE, since 1848 the capital of the Swiss Confederation and the seat of the Federal Government. This view is taken from the Aar, the river which almost surrounds the old town, and it shows prominently the Protestant Minster, a medieval building with a fine tower, built between 1421 and 1573.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1874

FROM 1848 onwards the cantons continually revised their constitutions, always in a democratic sense, though after the Sonderbund War Schwyz and Zug abolished their "landsgemeinden" (1848). The chief point was the introduction of the *referendum*, by which laws made by the cantonal legislature may (facultative referendum) or must (obligatory referendum) be submitted to the people for their approval, and this has obtained such general acceptance that Fribourg alone does not possess the referendum in either of its two forms. It was therefore only natural that attempts should be made to revise the federal constitution of 1848 in a democratic and centralizing sense, for it had been provided that the Federal Assembly, on its own initiative or on the written request of 50,000 Swiss electors, could submit the question of revision to a popular vote. In 1866 the restriction of certain rights (mentioned above) to Christians only was swept away; but the attempt at final revision in 1872 was defeated by a small majority, owing to the efforts of the anti-centralizing party. Finally, however, another draft was better liked, and on the 19th of April 1874 the new constitution was accepted by the people—14½ cantons against 7½ (those of 1848 without Tessin, but with Fribourg and Lucerne) and 340,199 votes as against 198,013. This constitution is still in force, and is mainly a revised edition of that of 1848, the Federal power being still further strengthened. Among the more important novelties three points may be mentioned. A system of free elementary education was set up, under the superintendence of the Confederation, but managed by the cantons. A man settling in another canton was, after a residence of three months only, given all cantonal and communal rights, save a share in the common property (an arrangement which as far as possible kept up the old principle that the "commune" is the true unit out of which cantons and the Confederation are built), and the membership of the commune carries with it cantonal and federal rights. The "Referendum" was introduced in its "facultative" form; *i.e.* all federal laws must be submitted to popular vote on the demand of 30,000 Swiss citizens or of eight cantons. But the "Initiative" (*i.e.* the right of compelling the legislature to consider a certain subject or bill) was not introduced into the Federal Constitution till 1891 (when it was given 50,000 Swiss citizens) and then only as to a partial (not a total) revision of that constitution. By the constitutions of 1848 and 1874 Switzerland has ceased to be a mere union of independent states jointed by a treaty, and has become a single state with a well-organized central government, to which have been given certain of the rights of the independent cantons, but increased centralization would destroy the whole character of the Confederation, in which the cantons are not administrative divisions but living political communities. Swiss history teaches us, all the way through, that Swiss liberty has been won by a close union of many small states, and we cannot doubt that it will be best preserved by the same means, and not by obliterating all local peculiarities, nowhere so striking and nowhere so historically important as in Switzerland.

M. Numa Droz (who was for seventeen years—1876 to 1892—a member of the Federal executive, and twice, in 1881 and in 1887, president of the Swiss Confederation) expressed the opinion shortly before his death in December 1899 (he was born in 1844) that while the dominant note of Swiss politics from 1848 to 1874 was the establishment of a Federal state, that of the period extending from 1874 to 1899 (and this is true of a later period) was the direct rule of the people, as distinguished from government by elected representatives. Whether this distinction be just or not, it

is certain that this advance towards democracy in its true sense is due indirectly to the monopoly of political power in the Federal government enjoyed by the Radical party from 1848 onwards: many were willing to go with it some part of the way, but its success in maintaining its close monopoly has provoked a reaction against it on the part of those who desire to see the Confederation remain a Confederation, and not become a strongly centralized state, contrary to its past history and genius. Hence after 1874 we find that democratic measures are not advocated as we should expect by the Radicals, but by all the other political parties with a view of breaking down this Radical monopoly, for it is a strange fact that the people elect and retain Radical representatives, though they reject the measures laid before them for their approval by the said Radical representatives. For these reasons the struggle between Federalists and Centralists (the two permanent political parties in Switzerland), which up to 1874 resulted in favour of the Centralists, has been turning gradually in favour of the Federalists, and that because of the adoption of such democratic institutions as the Referendum and the Initiative.

The general lines on which Swiss politics have run since 1874 may be most conveniently summarized under three headings—the working of the political machinery, the principal political events, and then the chief economical and financial features of the period. But it must be always borne in mind that all the following remarks relate only to *Federal* politics, those of the several cantons being much more intricate, and of course turning more on purely local differences of opinion.

1. *Political Machinery*—The Federal Constitution of 1848 set up a permanent Federal executive, legislature and tribunal, each and all quite distinct from and independent of any cantonal government. This system was a modified revival of the state of things that had prevailed from 1798 to 1803, and was an imitation of the political changes that had taken place in the cantonal constitutions after 1830. Both were victories of the Centralist or Radical party, and it was therefore but natural that this party should be called upon to undertake the Federal government under the new constitution, a supremacy that it has kept ever since. To the Centralists the *Council of States* (two members from each canton, however large or small) has always been a stumbling-block, and they have mockingly nicknamed it “the fifth wheel of the coach.” In the other house of the Federal legislature, the *National Council* (one member per 20,000, or fraction of over 10,000 of the entire population), the Radicals have always since its creation in 1848 had a majority. Hence, in the Congress formed by both houses sitting together, the Radicals have had it all their own way. This is particularly important as regards the election of the seven members of the Federal executive which is made by such a Congress. Now the Federal executive (*Federal Council*) is in no sense a cabinet, *i. e.* a committee of the party in the majority in the legislature for the time being. In the Swiss Federal constitution the cabinet has no place at all. Each member of the Federal executive is elected by a separate ballot, and holds office for the fixed term of three years, during which he cannot be turned out of office, while as yet but a single instance has occurred of the rejection of a Federal councillor who offered himself for re-election. Further, none of the members of the Federal executive can hold a seat in either house of the Federal legislature, though they may appear and speak (but not vote) in either, while the Federal Council as such has not necessarily any common policy, and never expresses its views on the general situation (though it does as regards particular legislative and administrative measures) in anything resembling the “speech from the Throne” in England. Thus it seems clear that the Federal executive was intended by the Federal Constitution of 1848 (and in this respect that of 1874 made no change) to be a standing committee of the legislature as a whole, but *not* of a single party in the legislature, or a “cabinet,” even though it had the majority. Yet this rule of a single political party is just what has taken place. Between 1848 and the end of 1908, 38 Federal councillors were elected (24 from German-speaking, 12 from French-speaking and 2 from Italian-speaking Switzerland, the canton of Vaud heading the list with 7). Now of these 38 three only were not Radicals, *viz.* M. Paul Ceresole (1870–1875) of Vaud, who was a Protestant Liberal-Conservative, Herren Josef Zemp (1891–1908) and Josef Anton Schobinger (elected 1908), both of Lucerne and Romanist Conservatives, yet the Conservative minority is a large one, while the Romanists form about two-fifths of the population of Switzerland. But despite this predominance of a single party in the Federal Council, no true cabinet system has come into existence in Switzerland, as members of the council do not resign even when their personal policy is condemned by a popular vote, so that the resignation of Herr Welti (a member of the Federal Council from 1867 to 1891), in consequence of the rejection by the people of his railway policy, caused the greatest amazement and consternation in Switzerland.

The chief political parties in the Federal legislature are the Right, or Conservatives (whether Romanists or Protestants), the Centre (now often called “Liberals,” but rather answering to the Whigs of English political language, the Left (or Radicals) and the Extreme Left (or the Socialists of varying shades). In the Council of States there is always a Federalist majority, since in this house the smaller cantons are on an equality with the greater ones, each indifferently having two members. But in the National Council (167 elected members) there has always (since 1848) been a considerable Radical majority over

all other parties. The Socialists long worked under the wing of the Radicals, but now in every canton (save Geneva) the two parties have quarrelled, the Socialist vote having largely increased, especially in the town of Zürich. In the country the anti-Radical opposition is made up of the Conservatives, who are strongest in the Romanist, and especially the Forest, cantons, and of the "Federalists" of French-speaking Switzerland. There is no doubt that the people are really anti-Radical, though occasionally led away by the experiments made recently in the domain of State socialism: they elect, indeed, a Radical majority, but very frequently reject the bills laid before them by their elected representatives.

2. *Politics*.—The cantons had led the way before 1848, and they continued to do so after that date, gradually introducing reforms all of which tended to give the direct rule to the people. The Confederation was bound to follow this example, though it adopted a far more lesiurely pace. Hence, in 1872 a new Federal Constitution was drafted, but was rejected on a popular vote by a small majority, as it was thought to go too far in a centralizing direction, and so encountered the combined opposition of the Conservatives and of the Federalists of French-speaking Switzerland. The last-named party was won over by means of concessions as to military matters and the proposed unification of cantonal laws, civil and criminal, and especially by strong provisions as to religious freedom, since the "Kulturkampf" was then raging in French-speaking Switzerland. Hence a revised draft was accepted in 1874 by a considerable popular majority, and this is the existing Federal Constitution. But it bears marks of its origin as a compromise, and no one party has ever been very eager to support it as a whole. At first all went smoothly, and various very useful laws carrying out in detail the new provisions of the constitution were drafted and accepted. But divisions of opinion arose when it was proposed to reform the military system at a very great expenditure, and also as to the question of the limitation of the right to issue bank-notes, while (as will be seen under 3 below) just at this time grave financial difficulties arose with regard to the Swiss railways, and in consequence of Prince Bismarck's anti-free trade policy, which threatened the prosperity of Switzerland as an exporting country. Further, the disturbed political state of the canton of Ticino (or Tessin) became more or less acute from 1873 onwards. There the Radicals and the Conservatives are nearly equally balanced. In 1872 the Conservatives obtained the majority in this canton, and tried to assure it by some certainly questionable means. The Radicals repeatedly appealed to the Federal government to obtain its armed intervention, but in vain. In 1876 the Conservatives at a rifle match at Stabio fired on the Radicals, but in 1880 the accused persons were acquitted. The long-desired detachment of Ticino from the jurisdiction of the foreign dioceses of Como and Milan was effected in 1888 by the erection of a see at Lugano, but this event caused the Radicals to fear an increase of clerical influence. Growing impatient, they finally took matters in their own hands, and in September 1890 brought about a bloody revolution. The partial conduct of the Radical Federal commissioner was much blamed, but after a state trial at Zürich in 1891 the revolutionists were acquitted, although they loudly boasted of their share in this use of force in political matters.

From 1885 onwards Switzerland had some troubles with foreign powers owing to her defence of the right of asylum for fugitive German Socialists, despite the threats of Prince Bismarck, who maintained a secret police in Switzerland, one member of which, Wohlge-muth, was expelled in 1889, to the prince's huge but useless indignation. From about 1890, as the above troubles within and without gradually subsided, the agitation in the country against the centralizing policy of the Radicals became more and more strongly marked. By the united exertions of all the opposition parties, and against the steady resistance of the Radicals, an amendment was introduced in 1891 into the Federal Constitution, by which 50,000 Swiss citizens can by the "Initiative" compel the Federal legislature and executive to take into consideration some point in the Federal Constitution which, in the opinion of the petitioners, requires reform, and to prepare a bill dealing with it which must be submitted to a popular vote. Great hopes and fears were entertained at the time as to the working of this new institution, but both have been falsified, for the Initiative has as yet only succeeded in inserting (in 1893) in the Federal Constitution a provision by which the Jewish method of killing animals is forbidden, and another (in 1903) prohibiting the manufacture or sale of absinthe in the country. On the other hand, it has failed (in 1894) to secure the adoption of a Socialist scheme by which the state was bound to provide work for every able-bodied man in the country, and (also in 1894) to carry a proposal to give to the cantons a bonus of two francs per head of the population out of the rapidly growing returns of the customs duties, similarly in 1900 an attempt to introduce the election of the Federal executive by a popular vote and proportional representation in the *Nationalrat* failed, and in 1903 did a proposal to make the elections to the *Nationalrat* depend on the Swiss population only, instead of the total population of the country.

The great rise in the productiveness of the customs duties (see 3 below) has tempted the Swiss people of late years to embark on a course of state socialism, which may be also described as a series of measures tending to give more and more power to the central Federal government at the expense of the cantons. So in 1890 the principle of compulsory universal insurance against sickness and accidents was accepted by a popular vote, in 1891 likewise that of a state or Federal bank, and in 1898 that of the unification of the cantonal laws,

civil and criminal, into a set of Federal codes. In each case the Federal government and legislature were charged with the preparation of laws carrying out in detail these general principles. But in 1897 their proposals as to a Federal bank were rejected by the people, though another draft was accepted in 1905, so that the bank (with a monopoly of note issue, a provision accepted by a popular vote in 1891) was actually opened in 1907. At the beginning of 1900 the suspicion felt as to the insurance proposals elaborated by the Federal authorities was so keen that a popular demand for a popular vote was signed by 117,000 Swiss citizens, the legal minimum being only 30,000: they were rejected (May 20, 1900) on a popular vote by a nearly two to one majority. The preparation of the Federal civil and criminal codes has progressed quietly, drafts being framed by experts and then submitted for criticism to special commissions and public opinion, but finally the civil code was adopted by the Federal Assembly in December 1907. By a popular vote in 1887 the Federal authorities were given a monopoly of alcohol, but a proposal to deal similarly with tobacco has been very ill received (though such a monopoly would undoubtedly produce a large amount), and would pretty certainly be refused by the people if a popular vote were ever taken upon it. In 1895 the people declined to sanction a state monopoly of matches, even though the unhealthy nature of the work was strongly urged, and have also resolutely refused on several occasions to accept any projects for the centralizing of the various branches of military administration, &c., though in 1897 the forests high up on the mountains were placed under Federal supervision, while in 1902 large Federal grants in aid were made to the cantons towards the expenses of primary education, and in 1908 the supervision of the employment of the power derived from rivers and streams was given to the Confederation. Among other reforms which have recently been much discussed in Switzerland are the introduction of the *obligatory* referendum (which hitherto has applied only to amendments to the Federal Constitution) and the extension of the initiative (now limited to piecemeal revision of the Federal Constitution) to *all* Federal laws, &c. The first-named scheme is an attempt to restrain important centralizing measures from being presented as laws (and as such exempt from the compulsory referendum), and not as amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Besides the insurance project mentioned above, two great political questions have engaged the attention of the Swiss.

a. *State Purchase of the Railways.*—In 1891 the purchase of the Central railway was rejected by a popular vote, but in 1898, by the aid of various baits thrown out, the people were induced to accept the principle of the purchase by the Confederation of the five great Swiss railway lines—three in 1901, viz. the Central, the North-Eastern and the United Swiss lines; one (the Jura-Simplon) in 1903, and one (the St Gotthard line) in 1909, this delay being due to international conventions that still have some years to run. Further, very important economical consequences, *e. g.* as to strikes, may be expected to result from the transformation of all railway officials of whatever grade into state servants, who may naturally be expected to vote (as in other cases) for their employers, and so greatly increase the strength of the Centralist political party.

b. *The "Double Initiative."*—This phrase denotes two purely political reforms that have been coupled together, though in reality they are by no means inseparable. One is the introduction of proportional representation (within the several cantons) into the elections for the National Council of the Federal parliament, the object being thus to secure for several large minorities a number of M.P.'s more in accordance with the size of those minorities in the country than is now possible under the régime of pure majorities: naturally these minorities would then receive a proper share of political power in the senate house, instead of merely exerting great political influence in the country, while if they were thus strengthened in the legislature they would soon be able to claim the right of naming several members of the Federal executive, thus making both legislature and executive a mirror of the actual political situation of the country, instead of the preserve of one political party. The other reform is the election of the members of the Federal executive by popular vote, the whole body of voters voting, not by cantons, but as a single electoral constituency. This would put an end to the "lobbying" that goes on previously to the election of a member of the executive by the two houses of the Federal parliament sitting jointly in Congress; but, on the other hand, it might stereotype the present system of electing members of the executive by the majority system, and so reduce large minorities to political impotence. The "double initiative" scheme was launched in the beginning of 1899, and by the beginning of the following July secured more than the requisite number of signatures (50,000), the first-named item having been supported by nearly 65,000 citizens, and the second item by 56,000. Hence the Federal parliament was *bound* to take these two reforms into formal consideration, but in June 1900 it rejected both, and this decision was confirmed by a popular vote taken in the following November.

3. *Economics and Finance.*—Soon after the adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1874 the economical and financial state of the Confederation became very unsatisfactory. The great financial crisis in Vienna in 1873 was a severe blow to Swiss commerce, which had taken a very great start after the Franco-German War of 1870–71. In the later 'seventies, too, the financial position of some of the great Swiss railway lines was very unfavourable:

the bankruptcy of the National line ruined for the time (till a Federal loan at a very low rate of interest was forced upon them) the four Swiss towns which were its guarantors; the North-Eastern line had to beg for a "moratorium" (a *legal* delay of the period at which it had to pay its debts) from the Federal government; the Bern-Lucerne line was actually put up to auction, and was bought by the canton of Bern. Further, the expenses of constructing the St Gotthard railway vastly exceeded all estimates, and in 1876 over 100,000,000 francs more were required. Hence the subventions already granted had to be increased. Germany (which gave originally 20,000,000 francs) and Italy (original contribution 45,000,000 francs) each promised 10,000,000 francs more; the St Gotthard company itself gave 12,000,000 and the two Swiss railway lines interested (Central and North-Eastern), added 1,500,000 to the 20,000,000 they had already agreed to give jointly with the cantons interested in the completion of this great undertaking. But these latter refused to add anything to their previous contributions, so that finally the Federal government proposed that it should itself pay the 6,500,000 francs most urgently required. This proposal aroused great anger in east and west Switzerland, but the matter was ultimately settled by the Confederation paying 4,500,000 francs and the interested cantons 2,000,000, the latter gift being made dependent on a grant of 4,500,000 francs by the Federal government for new tunnels through the Alps in east and west Switzerland, and of 2,000,000 more for the Monte Cenere tunnel between Bellinzona and Lugano. This solution of a most thorny question was approved by a popular vote in 1879, and the St Gotthard line was successfully completed in 1882. Gradually, too, the other Swiss railway lines, attained a state of financial equilibrium owing to the more careful management of new directors and managers. The completion of the Simplon tunnel (1906), the commencement (1906) of that beneath the Lötschen Pass, and the rival claims of projected tunnels under the Splügen Pass, besides the struggle for or against a tunnel under the Faucille (supported by Geneva almost alone), show that railway politics play a very prominent part in Swiss national life. They are, too, complicated by many local rivalries, which in this country are of greater importance than elsewhere because of the considerable share of power still legally belonging to the cantons. Another kindred question (owing to the rapid development of electric traction in Switzerland) is the equitable proposal (accepted in 1908) that the utilization of the immense force supplied by the many rivers and torrents in Switzerland should become a Federal monopoly, so as to secure to the Confederation the control over such important sources of revenue as otherwise might easily be unscrupulously exploited by private companies and firms.

Switzerland, by reason of natural conditions, is properly a free trade country, for it exports far more than it imports, in order to supply the demand for objects that it cannot itself produce. But Prince Bismarck's protectionist policy in 1879 was imitated by France, Austria and Italy, so that Switzerland was gradually shut in by a high wall of tariffs. Hence in 1891 the Swiss people approved, in sheer self-defence, a great increase of the customs duties, and in 1903 sanctioned a further very considerable advance in these duties, so that it is now a thoroughly Protectionist country, despite its obvious natural disadvantages. The huge increase in revenue naturally led to increased expenditure, which took the form of lavish subventions to all sorts of cantonal objects, magnificent Federal buildings, most useful improvements in the post and telegraph services, and extensive and lamentable construction of military fortifications in Uri and the Valais against some unknown foe. In 1894 it was proposed to distribute part of this new wealth in giving a bonus to the cantons at the rate of 2 francs per head of the population, but this extravagant proposal (nicknamed the "*Veutezug*") was rejected, owing to the cool common sense of the Swiss people, by a majority of over two to one. These prosperous circumstances, however, contributed mainly to the adoption or suggestion of various measures of state socialism, *e. g.* compulsory sick insurance, Federal subvention to primary schools, purchase of the five great Swiss railway lines, giving a right to every able-bodied man to have work at the expense of the state, subventions to many objects, &c.

Note.—For later history see Appendix, p. 71.

CHAPTER VII

PHYSICAL FEATURES

SWITZERLAND is a republican country of central Europe, comprising the Swiss Confederation, and bounded N. by the German Empire, E. by Austria (except where the principality of Liechtenstein intervenes), S. by Italy, and W. by France.

Switzerland extends between the parallels $45^{\circ} 49' 2''$ and $47^{\circ} 48' 32''$ lat. (Greenwich) and the meridians $5^{\circ} 57' 26''$ and $10^{\circ} 29' 40''$ long. (Greenwich). It forms an irregular quadrilateral, of which the greatest length from east to west is $226\frac{1}{2}$ m., and the greatest breadth from north to south is nearly 137 m. (136.8). It has, however, no proper physical unity, as it consists of a number of small districts, differing from each other widely in language, religion, ethnology, customs, &c., but bound together in a political alliance, made originally for common defence against a common foe. It is therefore an artificial land, just as its inhabitants form an artificial nation, though nowadays it is becoming more homogeneous in both respects. Its political boundaries thus do not coincide with those of nature. The entire canton of Ticino is south of the Alps, as are the valleys of Simplon (Valais), Mesocco, Bregaglia, Poschiavo and Münster (all in the Grisons); the whole canton of Schaffhausen and part of that of Basel are north of the Rhine, while a large part of the Grisons lies to the east of the Rhine basin, and Porrentruy is far down on the western slope of the Jura. But it is to be noted that all these exceptional cases were outside the limits of the Swiss Confederation up to 1798. Putting them aside, the physical geography of Switzerland may thus be described:—

1. On the south runs the main chain of the Alps, which is joined, at the Mont Dolent (12,543 ft.) in the chain of Mont Blanc, by the lower ranges that rise south of the Lake of Geneva, and which continues partly Swiss till close to the Stelvio Pass on the east.

2. To the north of this main chain there is another great range of mountains (wholly Swiss) only slightly inferior in extent and height, which starts from the hills known as the Jorat range above Lausanne, and culminates in the great snowy summits of the Bernese Oberland and of the Tödi group, before trending to the north near Coire, and, after rising once more in the Säntis group, dies away on the southern shore of the Lake of Constance.

3. The Swiss portion of the main chain of the Alps and this great northern outlier run parallel to each other from the Mont Dolent to near Coire, while for a short distance they actually unite near the Pizzo Rotondo (west of the St Gotthard Pass), parting again near the Oberalp Pass (east of the St Gotthard). Between these two great snow-clad ranges flow two of the mightiest European rivers, the Rhone towards the west and the Rhine towards the east, their headwaters being only separated by the tangled mountain mass between the Pizzo Rotondo and the Oberalp Pass, which sends the Reuss towards the north and the Ticino towards the south.

4. To the north of this great northern outlier rises the Jura range, really a huge spur of the Alps (with which it is connected by the Jorat range), while between the northern outlier and the Jura extends what may be called the plains or "plateau" of Switzerland, consisting all but wholly of the undulating valley of the Aar (below Thun) with its numerous affluents. To that river valley we must add the valley of the Thur (a direct affluent of the Rhine), that lies between the Aar basin and the Rhine basin (the Lake of Constance).

We may thus roughly describe Switzerland (as it exists at the present time) as consisting of three great river valleys (Rhône, Rhine and Aar) with the smaller one of the Thur, which all lie to the north of the main chain of the Alps and include the region between the Alps and the Jura. If we examine matters more carefully we note that the Rhône and Rhine valleys are shut off from that of the Aar (and, of course, of the Thur) by the great northern outlier of the Alps, which consists of the Bernese Oberland and Tödi Alps. Two wide and undulating valleys (Aar and Thur) and two deeply cut trenches (Rhône and Rhine) thus lie on the northern slope of the Alps, to the north and south respectively of the great northern outlier of the Alps. The main chain of the Alps rises in Swiss territory to the height of 15,217 ft. in the loftiest summit or Dufourspitze (wholly Swiss) of Monte Rosa, though the Dom (14,942 ft.), in the Mischabel range, between Zermatt and Saas, is the highest mountain mass which is entirely Swiss. The great northern outlier attains a height of 14,026 ft. in the Finsteraarhorn (Bernese Oberland), while the lowest level (581 ft.) within the Confederation is on the Lago Maggiore. The highest permanently inhabited village in Switzerland is Juf (6998 ft.), at the head of the Avers valley (a tributary of the Hinter Rhône, Grisons), while the lowest is Ascona (666 ft.), on the Lago Maggiore and just southwest of Locarno.

According to the most recent calculations, the total area of Switzerland is 15,951 sq. m. (some 2500 sq. m. less than that of Servia). Of this 11,927.5 sq. m. (or 74.8 %) are reckoned as "productive," forests occupying 3,390.9 sq. m. and vineyards 1087.7 sq. m., the remainder, or 8427.7 sq. m., consisting of arable and pasture land. Of the "unproductive" area of 4023.5 sq. m. (or 25.2 %) much consists of lakes and rivers, while glaciers cover 709.7 sq. m. Approximately the Alps occupy one-sixtieth of this area, the Jura about one-tenth, and the "plateau" the rest. Of the entire area the great cantons of the Grisons, Bern and the Valais take up 7411.8 sq. m., or nearly one-half, while if to them be added Vaud, Ticino and St Gall the extent of these six (out of twenty-two) cantons is 10,527.6 sq. m., or almost two-thirds of the area of the Confederation. Not included in the total area of Switzerland are three small "enclaves" (4 sq. m. in all), Büsingen and Verenauf (both in Schaffhausen) belonging to Baden, while Campione (opposite Lugano) is Italian. Switzerland borders on many countries—France west and south-west, Italy south, Austria east (Tirol and Vorarlberg), and Germany north (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and Alsace). Switzerland sends its waters to four great river basins (which drain to three different seas) in the following proportions: Rhine basin, 11,159 sq. m.; Rhône basin, 2768 sq. m.; Po basin, 1361 sq. m.; and Inn basin, 663 sq. m.

The thirteen cantons which till 1798 formed the Confederation are all comprised in the Rhine basin, the ten oldest (*i. e.* all before 1500) being within that of the Aar, and it was only after 1798 that certain Romansch-, French- and Italian-speaking "allies" and subject lands—with their river basins—were tacked on to them.

Most of the great Swiss rivers, being in their origin mere mountain torrents, tend to overflow their banks, and hence much is required and has been done to prevent this by embanking them, and regaining arable land from them. So the Rhine (between Ragatz and the Lake of Constance), the Rhône, the Aar, the Reuss; and in particular we may mention the great work on the Linth (1807-1816) carried out by Hans Konrad Escher, who earned by his success the surname of "Von der Linth," and on the Zihl near the lakes of Neuchâtel and Bienne, while the diversion of the Kander from its junction with the Aar at Thierachern to a channel by which it flows into the Lake of Thun was effected as early as 1714.

There are very many lakes, large and small, in Switzerland. The two most extensive, those of Geneva and of Constance, balance each other, as it were, at the south-west and north-east corners of the land. But neither of these is wholly Swiss, this distinction being claimed by the next in size, that of Neuchâtel (92.4 sq. m.), the Lago Maggiore (partly Swiss only) coming next in the list, and being followed by the wholly Swiss lakes of Lucerne and of Zürich. Then come Lugano, Thun, Bienne, Zug, Brienz, Morat, the Walensee, and Sempach (5½ sq. m.). These fourteen only are over 4 sq. m. in extent. Eleven of them are in the Rhine basin (also in that of the Aar), two (Maggiore and Lugano) in that of the Po, and one (Geneva) in that of the Rhône. There are no large lakes in the Swiss portion of the Inn basin, the most extensive being that of Sils (1½ sq. m.). Of the smaller lakes those best known to travellers are the Daubensee (near the summit of the Gemmi), the Oeschinensee (at the foot of the Blümlis Alp range) and the Märljensee, formed by the damming up of the waters of the Great Aletsch glacier by a huge lateral moraine. Alpine tarns are innumerable.

Of the countless *waterfalls* in Switzerland those of the Rhine (near Schaffhausen) have volume but not height, while the reverse is the case in varying degrees with those of the Aar at the Handegg, of the Reichenbach, of Pissevache, and particularly of the Staubbach, a mere thread of water falling clear of a cliff of great height.

There are said to be 1077 *glaciers* in Switzerland, but it is really impossible to estimate the number accurately, as practically all are now in retreat, and it is not easy to say whether an isolated fragment of ice is or is not entitled to rank as an independent glacier. From them flow all the more important Swiss rivers and streams. Yet their distribution is very

unequal, for eleven cantons (just one-half of the Confederation) have none. The Valais heads the list with 375 sq. m., then come the Grisons (138·6), Bern (111·3), Uri (44·3), Glarus (13·9) and Ticino (13·1). The five others (Unterwalden, Vaud, St Gall, Schwyz and Appenzell) boast of 13·3 all together. The three longest glaciers in the Alps are all in the great northern outlier (not in the main chain)—the Great Aletsch (16½ m.), the Fiescher and the Unteraar (each 10 m.). In the main chain the Gorner (9½ m.) is the longest. Of glaciers covering an area of over 6 sq. m. no fewer than 17 are in Switzerland, as against two each in the French portion of the chain of Mont Blanc and in the Eastern Alps.

Forests cover 21·2 % (3390·99 sq. m.) of the total area of Switzerland. Of the six most extensive cantons five are also at the head in the matter of forests: Bern (591 sq. m.), the Grisons (503), Vaud (320), the Valais (297·4) and Ticino (267·2). St Gall (157) ranks in this respect after Zürich (180·8) and Aargau (172), while the only other cantons with over 100 sq. m. are Lucerne (120·4), Fribourg (119) and Soleure (111·3), the lowest place being taken by Geneva (9·9). By far the greater part (67 %) of the forest area belongs to the communes or private corporations, while 28·5 % is in the hands of private individuals (much of this having become private property in the time of Napoleon I.), but only 4·5 % is in the hands of the state, in consequence of the suppression of many monasteries. The communes own 94·3 % of the forest area in the Valais, private individuals 78·8 % in Lucerne, and the state 16 % in Schaffhausen. Schaffhausen and the Jura cantons are the most wooded in proportion to their area, while at the other end of the scale are the towns of Geneva and Basel, and the barren canton of Uri. The great floods of 1834, 1852 and 1868 drew attention to the negligent administration of the forests, considered specially as a protection against damage due to the forces of nature. A forestry department was created in the polytechnic school in Zürich when it was opened in 1855. The Federal Constitution of 1874 (art. 24) handed over to the Confederation the oversight of the forests "in the high mountains," this being interpreted to mean the Alps with their spurs, but not to include the Jura, and a law of 1876 was enacted to carry out this task. In 1897 the limitation mentioned above was struck out, so that the Confederation now has oversight of *all* forests within its territory, a law of 1902 regulating in detail the whole subject. Since 1876 much has been done, either directly by the Confederation or indirectly by subsidizing the efforts of the cantons, to reforest districts where the trees had been recklessly cut down, and to ensure the proper administration of forests generally.

Climate.—In Switzerland, where the height above sea-level ranges from 581 ft. (Lago Maggiore) to 15,217 ft. (Monte Rosa), we naturally find very many climates, from the regions of olives, vines, oaks and beeches, pines and firs, to those of the high mountain pastures, rhododendrons, and of eternal snow. It has been reckoned that, while in Italian Switzerland winter lasts only three months, at Glarus (1578 ft.) it lasts four, in the Engadine (5945 to 3406 ft.) six, on the St Gotthard (6936 ft.) eight, on the Great St Bernard (8111 ft.) nine, and on the St Théodule Pass (10,899 ft.) practically always. The highest mean annual temperature (53° F.) in Switzerland is naturally that at Lugano (909 ft.), while at Bevers (5610 ft., Upper Engadine) the lowest mean temperature in winter is -14° F., but the highest in summer is 77° F., an immense difference. At Montreux the annual mean is 50° F., at Sion, Basel, Geneva and Coire about 49°, at Zürich 48°, at Bern and Lucerne 47·5°, at St Gall 45°, at Davos 37·5°, at Sils-Maria 34·5°, and on the Great St Bernard 29°. Of course many factors, such as the shape of the ground, the sheltered position of the place, the degree of exposure to sunshine, counterbalance the mere height at which the town is situated.

The snow-clad Alps of course have the heaviest rain- or snow-fall in Switzerland, this being estimated at 89·7 in. per annum. The greatest actually recorded rainfall (87·3 in.) was on the San Bernardino Pass (6769 ft.), while the lowest (21·7 in.) was at Sierre (1767 ft., Valais). At Lugano the average annual rainfall is 65·4 in., on the Great St Bernard 48·7 in., at Lucerne 45·6 in., at Montreux 42·6 in., at Sils-Maria 37 in., at Bern and Davos 36·6 in., and at Basel, Coire and Geneva about 32·7 in. It has been shown by careful observations that the rain- or snow-fall is greatest as we approach the Alps, whether from the north or the south, the flanks of the great ranges and the valleys opening out towards the plains receiving much more rain than the high Alpine valleys enclosed on all sides by lofty ridges. Thunderstorms generally vary in frequency with the amount of rainfall, being most common near the great ranges, and often very local. The floods caused by excessive rainfall are sometimes very destructive, as in 1834, 1852 and 1868, while the same cause leads to landslips, of which the most remarkable have been those of the Rossberg above Goldau (1806), at Evionnaz (1835) and at Elm (1881). The Föhn is the most remarkable local wind.

For all these reasons Switzerland has many varieties of climate; and while, owing to the distribution of the rainfall, the Ticino and Aar valleys are very fertile, the two great trenches between the main chain and its north outlier, though warm, are less productive, as the water comes from the rivers and not from the skies.

CHAPTER VIII

POPULATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

THE first estimate of the population of Switzerland with any pretence to accuracy was that of 1817, which put the number at 1,687,900. The first regular census took place in 1836 to 1838, but was therefore not synchronous, while it was also not very systematic—the number was put at 2,190,258. That of 1850 was better organized, while in 1860 the census was declared decennial, a slight alteration being made as to that of 1888 for practical reasons. The following was the number of the population usually resident (the number of those actually present was also taken, but all detailed subdivisions refer only to the residents): in 1850, 2,392,740; in 1860, 2,510,494; in 1870, 2,655,001; in 1880, 2,831,787; in 1888, 2,917,754; and in 1900, 3,315,443. The density per square mile was as follows: 150 in 1850; 157 in 1860; 159 in 1870; 177 in 1880; 182 in 1888; and 207 in 1900. The increase in the whole of the country from 1850 to 1900 was 39 %. Thirteen cantons showed an increase lower than this average, the lowest of all being Aargau, Glarus and Lucerne; while in Bern the increase of the towns did not counterbalance the diminution in the country districts. The nine cantons which increased above the average rate did so either owing to special circumstances (*e. g.* the construction of the Simplon railway in the Valais), or because their industries were very flourishing (*e. g.* St Gall), or because they contain great towns (*e. g.* Zürich). The highest rates of increase were shown by Geneva (107 % increase) and the half canton of urban Basel (278 % increase). As to the actual distribution of the population, the Alpine regions are the sparsest generally (with the exception of the Outer Rhodes of Appenzell), the Jura region has a much higher ratio, while the densest region of all is the Swiss plateau. The strong attraction of the towns is shown by the facts that between 1850 and 1900 the population of the nineteen largest nearly tripled, while, in 1900, of the 187 "political districts" in Switzerland 41 showed a decrease, and they were all exclusively rural.

The shifting of the population within the country is also proved when we note that in 1900 but 38.5 % of the Swiss citizens inhabited their commune of birth, though the proportion was 64 % in 1850. If we consider the different cantons, we find that in 1900 31.5 % (in 1850 but 26.4 %) lived in another commune within their canton of birth, while 18.4 % (as against 6.6 % in 1850) dwelt in a canton other than their canton of birth. To sum up, in 1850, out of the 25 cantons and half cantons, no fewer than 21 had a majority of citizens living in their commune of birth, while in 1900 the number was but 11, and those all rural cantons. Of the 3164 *communes* (or civil parishes) in Switzerland, only 21 in 1900 had a population exceeding 10,000, while 20 had under 50 inhabitants. If we look at the height of the communes above the sea-level, we find that there were but 3 (with a population of 463 souls) above 1900 metres (2953 ft.), while 68 (with a total population of 188,394) were below 300 metres (984 ft.). The number of inhabited houses rose from 347,327 in 1860 (the number was not taken in 1850) to 434,084 in 1900, while that of separate households mounted from 485,087 in 1850 (528,105 in 1860) to 728,920 in 1900.

The *non-Swiss element* of the population increased from 3 % in 1850 to 11.6 % in 1900, and its number from 71,570 in 1850 to 383,424 in 1900. The Germans are the most numerous, next in order come Italians, French and Austrians. In 1900 there were 3535 British subjects resident in Switzerland, and 1559 citizens of the United States. Of course most of the non-Swiss are found in the towns, or in rural districts where any great railway line is being constructed.

The provisional results of the census taken on December 1, 1910, show that the resident population of Switzerland on that day was 3,741,971 as against 3,315,443 in 1900, an increase of 426,528. The details of the 22 cantons are as follows: Aargau, 229,850; Appenzell, 72,354; Basel, 211,787; Bern, 642,744; Fribourg, 139,200; Gall, St, 301,141; Geneva, 154,159; Glarus, 33,211; Graubünden, 118,262; Lucerne, 166,782; Neuchâtel, 132,184; Schaffhausen, 45,943; Schwyz, 58,347; Soleure, 116,728; Thurgau, 134,055; Ticino, 158,556; Unterwalden, 30,914; Uri, 22,055; Valais, 129,579; Vaud, 315,428; Zug, 28,013; and Zürich, 500,679. In the rural districts the rate of advance as regards the chief towns is stationary, while in the purely agricultural or pastoral communes a considerable decrease is to be noted. But the larger towns have all very much more numerous populations than in 1900. So Zürich has advanced to 188,930 (from 150,703) and hopes soon to reach the figure 200,000; Basel to 135,163 (from 109,161), Geneva to 125,550 (from 104,796), Bern to 85,095 (from 64,227), and Lausanne to 64,142 (from 46,732). No other Swiss town has more than 40,000 inhabitants, though "Great St Gall" (when the fusion of St Gall with the neighbouring communes of Tablat and Straubenzell is effected) will (on the results of 1910) number 75,105 souls, and so rank as the fifth most populous town in Switzerland.

The most striking feature of the census of 1910, however, is the great increase in the number of the non-Swiss residents in Switzerland, which has risen to 565,296 or about 15 % (as against 383,424 or 12 % in 1900). The influx is all but wholly made up of members of the working class from Germany, France and Italy, seeking better wages and freedom from compulsory military service. Naturally it is the great towns, and especially those near the frontier, which contain the vast majority of these foreigners, though many Italian navvies and masons are employed on the construction of new lines of railway. The matter has caused much discussion in Switzerland, for it is of importance from the point of view of the Poor Law and of the Army. But, quite apart from the various international treaties by which foreign powers have secured the rights of their subjects, there are many objections to the compulsory naturalization of these non-Swiss, even though this be limited to children born in the country, but of foreign parentage. The chief objection perhaps is that, as Swiss and Cantonal citizenship can only be obtained by previous admittance as a member of a commune, the communes have the last word and in many cases are not desirous of increasing the number of those entitled to use the communal property (pastures, &c.), and so ask prohibitory entrance fees. Further, even if the fees were made lower by law or if the poorer communes should charge lower fees, so small a proportion of native-born Swiss inhabit their commune of birth (only 38½ % in 1900, and probably not over 30 % now), that the connexion of the new burghers with the communes of which they became members would be simply a paper bond, though those communes might be put to heavy charges in case these new burghers came under the provisions of the Poor Law. The same would be the case with the domicile of the newly naturalized. The creation of a new status of Swiss citizenship (apart from Cantonal or Communal burghership) has been proposed, but such a course would involve difficulties not only with the communes but with the cantons as well. It has been found too, in practice, that the lowering of the entrance fees has not attracted a great proportion of the foreigners resident in Switzerland, many of whom are there for political reasons, while many Swiss employers prefer to employ foreign workmen at lower wages (being not liable to be called out to do military service) rather than to have only Swiss workmen. Such difficulties, however, are part of the price which Switzerland pays for its international position, which in itself is productive of great benefit.

The *emigration* of Swiss beyond seas was but 1691 in 1877, though it rose in 1883 to 13,502 (the maximum as yet attained). Then the number fell pretty steadily till 1899 (2493), then rose again, and in 1906 was 5296. About 89 % go to the United States, and about 6% to the Argentine Republic (mainly from the French-speaking cantons). Bern, Zürich, Ticino, the town of Basel and St Gall are the chief cantons which furnish emigrants.

In the matter of *religion*, the Protestants formed 59·3 % in 1850 and 57·8 % in 1900, and the Roman Catholics (including the "Christian" or "Old" Catholics, who arose in 1874) 40·6 % and 41·6 % respectively, while the Jews increased from 1 % in 1850 to 4 % in 1900—the remainder (other religions or none) being 2 % in 1860 (not reckoned separately in 1850) and in 1900. Ten and a half cantons have a majority of Protestants, while in the rest the "Catholics" have the upper hand. The same proportion prevailed in 1850, save that then Geneva had a Protestant majority, whereas in 1870 already the balance had shifted, owing to the number of immigrants from France and Italy.

As to *languages* habitally spoken, Switzerland presents a very variegated picture. By the Federal Constitutions of 1848 (art. 109) and 1874 (art. 116), German, French and Italian are recognized as "national languages," so that debates in the Federal parliament may be carried on in any of the three, while Federal laws, decrees, &c., appear also in the three. The old historical dialects of Romansch and Ladin (nearly confined to the canton of the Grisons) enjoy no political recognition by the Confederation, are largely maintained by artificial means in the shape of societies founded for their preservation, and are not even in the majority (which is German) in the Grisons. Of the other 21 cantons, all have a German-speaking majority save 6—French prevails in Fribourg, Vaud, the Valais, Neuchâtel and Geneva, and Italian in Ticino. Since the census of 1880, when detailed inquiries

as to language were made for the first time, there has been a certain amount of shifting, as is shown by the following figures. German was spoken by 71·3 of the population in 1880, by 71·4 in 188 and by 69·8 in 1900; the figures for French are respectively 21·4, 21·8 and 22, and for Italian 5·7, 5·3 and 6·7, while Romansch fell from 1·4 to 1·3 and 1·2 %. "Other languages" were 2, 2 and 3 %. Thus in 1900 there were nearly 70 % of German-speaking persons, as against nearly 30 % who spoke one or other of the Romance tongues. The most interesting cases are the cantons of Fribourg and the Valais, in which French is advancing at the expense of German.

Chief Political Divisions and Towns.—When considering Switzerland it must never be forgotten that, strictly speaking, the only political "divisions" are the 187 "districts" into which the cantons are divided (Bern has 30, Vaud 19 and St Gall 15, no others having over 15). These are administrative districts, created for political purposes. The cantons themselves are not "divisions" but sovereign states, which have formed an alliance for certain purposes, while they are built up out of the 3164 "communes," which are really the political units. Of the 22 cantons,¹ 3 are subdivided—Unterwalden (from before 1291) into Obwalden and Nidwalden, and Appenzell (since 1597) into the Outer Rhodes and the Inner Rhodes, while Basel (since 1833) forms urban Basel (the city) and rural Basel (the country districts). The Swiss political capital is Bern (by virtue of a Federal law of 1848), while the Federal Supreme Tribunal is (since its foundation in 1874) at Lausanne, and the Federal Polytechnic School (since it was opened in 1855) at Zürich.

In 1900 there were 19 towns in Switzerland which had a population exceeding 10,000 souls, all having increased very much within the 50 previous years. The following are the six largest, the figures for 1850 being enclosed within brackets: Zürich, 150,703 (35,483); Basel, 109,161 (27,844); Geneva, 104,796 (42,127); Bern, 64,227 (27,558); Lausanne, 46,732 (17,108), and La Chaux de Fonds, 35,968 (13,659). Thus Geneva was first in 1850, but only third in 1900. Thirteen of these nineteen towns are cantonal capitals, though La Chaux de Fonds, Winterthur, Bienne, Tablat (practically a suburb of St Gall), Le Locle and Vevey are not, while no fewer than twelve cantonal capitals (Sion, Bellinzona, Aarau, Altdorf, Schwyz, Frauenfeld, Glarus, Sarnen, Stans, Appenzell and Zug) are below this limit. It is reckoned that while the 19 Swiss towns having over 10,000 inhabitants had in 1850 a population of 255,722, that number had swollen in 1900 to 742,295.

Communications.—The carriage roads of Switzerland were much improved and increased in number after a strong Federal government was set up in 1848, for it largely subsidized cantonal undertakings. In the course of the 19th century many splendid roads were carried over the Alpine passes, whether within or leading from Swiss territory; in the latter case with financial aid from Italy (or till 1859 Austria, as the mistress of the Milanese). The earliest in date was that over the Simplon (1800–1807), while others were opened respectively over the Furka (7992 ft.) in 1867, to the top of the Great St Bernard (8111 ft.) in 1893, over the Grimsel (7100 ft.) in 1895, and over the Klausen Pass (6404 ft.) in 1900. The highest carriage road entirely within Switzerland is that over the Umbrail Pass (8242 ft.) opened in 1901, and leading from the Swiss upper Münster valley to close to the Stelvio.

The first Swiss lake over which a steamer plied regularly was that of Geneva (1823), followed by Constance (1824), Lago Maggiore (1826), Neuchâtel (1827), Thun (1835), Lucerne (1835) and Brienz (1839). The first railway opened within Switzerland was that (14 m. long) from Zürich to Baden in Aargau (1847), though the Swiss bit of that from Basel to Strassburg had been opened in 1844. From 1852 to 1872 the cantons granted concessions for the building of railways to private companies, but from 1872 onwards the conditions were other and the lines were constructed under Federal supervision. In the 'fifties and 'sixties many lines were built, but not always according to sound financial principles, so that in 1878 the great "National Railway" became bankrupt. Hence the idea of the state purchase of the chief lines made considerable progress, so that in 1898 such a scheme was accepted by the Swiss people. Accordingly in 1901 most of the great lines became Federal railways, and the Jura-Simplon in 1903, while the Gotthard line became Federal in 1909. This state ownership only applies to the main lines, not to the secondary lines or to the mountain cog-wheel railway (of which the first was that from Vitnauz up the Rigi, 1871) now so widespread throughout the country. The highest point as yet attained in Switzerland by a mountain railway is the Eismeer station (10,371 ft.) of the line towards the Jungfrau. Many tunnels have been pierced through the Swiss Alps, such as the St Gotthard (1882), the Albula (1903) and the Simplon (1906). The highest line carried over a Swiss pass is that over the Little Scheidegg (6772 ft.).

¹ The cantons are—Aargau, Appenzell, Basel, Bern, Fribourg, Geneva, Glarus, Grisons, Neuchâtel, St Gall, Schaffhausen, Schwyz, Soleure, Thurgau, Ticino, Unterwalden, Uri, Valais, Vaud, Zug, Zürich.

CHAPTER IX

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

If we look at the annual turnover there is no doubt that the principal Swiss industry is that of the entertainment of foreign visitors, for its gross receipts are larger than those of any other branch. It appears from the official statistics that in 1905 its gross receipts amounted to rather over £7,500,000 (as against about £4,500,000 in 1894, and rather over £2,000,000 in 1880) the net profit being nearly £1,500,000 (as against £656,000 and nearly £300,000 respectively), while in 1905 the capital invested in this industry was rather over £31,000,000 (as against £20,750,000 and £12,750,000 respectively). In 1905 there were in Switzerland 1924 hotels (of which 402 were in Bern and 358 in the Grisons) specially built for the accommodation of foreign visitors, containing 124,068 beds, and employing 33,480 servants (the numbers for 1894 and 1880 are 1693 and 1002, 88,634 and 58,137, and 23,997 and 16,022 respectively). Part of this increase is due to the fashion of visiting Switzerland in winter for skating, tobogganing, ski-ing, &c.

Of the actual "productive" soil about two-thirds is devoted to arable or pasturage purposes, but the latter branch is by far the more important, occupying about 83 % of this two-thirds, for Switzerland is much more a pastoral than an agricultural country. In 1906 the number of cattle was officially put at 1,497,904 (as against 1,340,375 in 1901 and 993,291 in 1866). In summer they are supported on the numerous mountain pastures or "alps," which number 4778, and are of an estimated capital value of rather over £3,000,000, while in winter they are fed on the hay mown on the lower meadows or purchased from outside. Two main breeds of cattle are found in Switzerland, the dun race (best represented by the cattle of Schwyz) and the dappled race (of which the Simme valley beasts are of the red and white kind, and those of the Gruyère of the black and white variety). The best Swiss cheeses are those of the Emmenthal and of the Gruyère, while the two principal condensed milk factories (Nestlé at Vevey and that at Cham) are now united. It should be noted that the proportion of the land devoted to pastoral pursuits increases, like the rainfall, from the west and north-west to the east and north-east, so that it is highest (nearly 90 %) in Appenzell and St Gall. As regards other domestic animals, the number of swine increased from 304,428 in 1866 to 566,974 in 1896 (the maximum recorded), but in 1906 fell to 548,355. The number of goats has remained pretty steady (359,913 in 1906 to 375,482 in 1866, the maximum, 416,323, being attained in 1886), but that of sheep has decreased from 447,001 in 1866 to 209,443 in 1906.

On April 21, 1911 a new census was taken of the cattle of all kinds in Switzerland, the number being 1,254,950 as against 1,497,904 in 1906. Every category has decreased in number, save cows and bullocks, which show a slight increase. This striking decrease is to be accounted for in part by the rise in the price of milk, due to the preference of the peasants for producing that article (largely for export in a condensed form or as cheese) rather than for cattle breeding, so that the native supply of meat does not keep pace with the rise in the population and the consequent greater demand. It is said indeed that the native meat supply is now but $\frac{2}{3}$ of the quantity demanded. But as the import of live cattle is hindered by the danger of bringing in infectious diseases, while Germany and France do not look with favour on the passage of live stock through their respective territories, the import of dead meat has now greatly exceeded that of live stock. But here comes in a further difficulty, the high figure of the import duties on dead meat. The situation has become so awkward that the

Federal Government has had to consent to a (provisional) lowering of the duties so as to enable frozen meat from the Argentine to be brought in, this being sold at a cheaper price; naturally this policy does not approve itself to the peasants or butchers, but has become almost a necessity, owing to the general rise in prices.

It is stated that but 14 % of the "productive" area of Switzerland is corn-growing, this proportion being, however, doubled in Vaud. Hence for its food supply the country is largely dependent on its imports, the home supply sufficing for 153 days only. Tobacco is grown to a certain extent, especially near Payerne in the Broye valley (Vaud) and in Ticino, while more recently beetroot has been cultivated for the purpose of manufacturing sugar. Fruit and vegetables are made into jams and concentrated foods at Lenzburg and Kempthal, while *hirschwasser* (cherry brandy) is made in Zug. Forests cover about 28½ % of the "productive" area of Switzerland. They are now well cared for, and produce considerable profits.

Vineyards in Switzerland now cover 108·7 sq. m., though the area is steadily decreasing owing to the competition of foreign cheap wines. The only cantons which have over 10 % of their area thus planted are Vaud (25 %), Ticino (20 %), Zürich (17 %) and the Valais (10·7 %). Among the best Swiss wines are those of La Cote, Lavaux and Yverne (all in Vaud), and Muscat, Fendant and Vin du Glacier (all in the Valais). Those grown near Neuchâtel, at the northern end of the lake of Zürich, near Baden (Aargau), and along the Swiss bank of the Rhine, are locally much esteemed.

Among the raw mineral products of Switzerland the most important is asphalt, which is worked by an English company in the Val de Travers (Neuchâtel). Various metals (even including gold and silver) exist in Switzerland, but are hardly worked at all, save iron (Delémont), copper (Val d'Anniviers) and argentiferous lead (Lötschenthal). True coal is wholly absent, but lignites occur here and there, and are sometimes worked (*e. g.* at Käpfnach, Zürich). Anthracite is found in the Valais, while peat is worked in many parts. Salt was first found at Bex (Vaud) in 1544, and the mines are still worked. But far more important are the saline deposits along the Rhine, from near Basel to Coblenz (at the junction of the Rhine and the Aar), which were discovered at Schweizerhall in the year 1836, at Kaiseraugst in 1844, at Rheinfelden in 1845, and at Ryburg in 1848. Marble, sandstone and granite are worked in various spots for building purposes. Marl, clay and limestone are also found, and are much used for the manufacture of various kinds of cement. There are said to be 620 mineral springs in Switzerland, the best known being those at Baden in Aargau and at Schinznach (both sulphur), Schuls-Tarasp and St Moritz, Stachelberg, Ragatz and Pfäfers, Leukerbad and Weissenburg. The most important slate quarries are those in the canton of Glarus. The relative importance of the Swiss industries concerned with the land is best shown by the census taken in 1900 as to the occupations of the inhabitants. No fewer than 1,035,010 (about one-third of the total population) were engaged in pastoral or agricultural pursuits, as against 19,334 employed in market gardening, 18,233 in various matters touching the forests, 12,785 in the vineyards, and 12,323 in extracting minerals (of these 8004 were employed in stone or marble quarries).

Manufactures.—The same census also shows the relative importance of the chief branches of manufacture in Switzerland—textile industries 270,114 (of which 88,457 were in the silk branch and 63,853 in that of cotton), watchmaking 115,617, embroidery 89,558, besides 74,148 engaged in the manufacture of machinery. Eastern Switzerland is the industrial portion of the land, though watchmaking and some minor industries are carried on in the Jura. The textile industries are by far the most important in Switzerland, Zürich and its neighbourhood being the main centre both for silk (this branch was revived by the Protestant exiles from Italy in the 16th century) and cotton, while St Gall, Appenzell and Thurgau are mainly devoted to embroidery, and Basel to the silk ribbon and floss silk departments. The watchmaking industry has been established in Geneva since the end of the 16th century, and spread in the early 18th century to the Neuchâtel portion of the Jura (centre La Chaux de Fonds and Le Locle). Musical boxes are chiefly made at Ste Croix in the Vaud section of the Jura, while Geneva is famous for its jewelry and goldsmiths' work. The growth of the manufacture of machines is much more recent, having originally been a mere adjunct of the textile industry, and developed in order to secure its independence of imports from England. Its centres are in and around Zürich, Winterthur, St Gall and Basel. Among other products and industries are chocolate (Suchard, Cailler, Sprüngli, Tobler, Peter, Mastrani, &c.), shoemaking (Schönenwerd), straw plaiting (Aargau and Gruyère), wood carving (Brienz in the Bernese Oberland since 1825), concentrated soups and meats (Maggi's factory is at Kempthal near Winterthur), aniline dyes (Basel), aluminium (Neuhausen in Schaffhausen).

Commerce.—Switzerland is naturally adapted for free trade, for it depends on the outside world for much of its food-stuffs and the raw materials of its manufactures. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1848, customs duties within the land were abolished, while moderate duties only were levied on imports, the sum increasing as the articles came more or less within the category of luxuries, but being lowest on necessities of life. Down to 1870 Switzerland was all but entirely on the side of free trade. Since that time it has been becoming more and more protectionist. This change was due in part

to the increased tariffs levied in Germany and France, and in part to the strong pressure exercised by certain branches of the Swiss manufacturing industries, while treaties of commerce have been made with divers countries. Hence in 1903 the Swiss people adopted the principle of a greatly increased scale of duties, the detailed tariff of the actual sums levied on the various articles coming into force on the 1st of January 1906.¹ These higher duties were meant to serve as a weapon for obtaining better terms in future commercial treaties, but were finally increased still more at the instigation of certain of the great manufacturers, so that Switzerland became decidedly a protectionist country. In 1901 the receipts from the customs duties were about £1,858,000, while in 1905 they were £2,541,000, and in 1907 rather more (£2,894,000).

Excluding goods in transit, the total value of imports rose from about £36,500,000 in 1895 to about £55,000,000 in 1905, while between the same dates the exports rose from about £26,500,000 to £38,750,000—in other words, the unfavourable balance of trade had increased from £10,000,000 in 1895 to £16,250,000 in 1905.

The increase during the same period in the case of the four great articles of export from Switzerland was as follows:—silk from nearly £8,500,000 to rather over £10,000,000, embroideries from nearly £3,000,000 to £5,000,000, watches from £3,500,000 to £5,250,000 and machinery from rather under £1,000,000 to £2,250,000.

¹ The new Customs Tariff of 1906 resulted at first in a considerable unfavourable balance of trade, followed by an increase in 1907, and a new decrease in 1908. But from 1909 onwards Switzerland has shared in the prosperity of international trade throughout Europe. In 1910 the value of her exports was about £47,832,000 and in 1911 about £50,280,000, while in 1910 her imports were about £69,800,000 and in 1911 about £72,812,000, so that the excess of imports rose from £2,288,000 in 1910 to £2,448,000 in 1911. This was due to the value of the increased imports of meat, oats, and other food-stuffs. The fall of £520,000 in the imports in 1911 from Great Britain was exactly balanced by an equivalent in exports thither. Great Britain was in 1911 the best customer of Switzerland next after Germany, though behind Germany, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary as regards the value of the goods imported into Switzerland.

CHAPTER X

GOVERNMENT

THE Swiss Confederation must be carefully distinguished from the 22 cantons of which it is composed, and which are sovereign states, save in so far as they have given up their rights to the Federal government. These cantons themselves are built up of many political communes, or *Gemeinden*, or civil parishes, which are the real political units of the country (and not merely local subdivisions); for any one desiring to become naturalized a Swiss must first become (by purchase or grant) a member of a commune, and then, if his burghership of the commune is confirmed by the cantonal authorities, he obtains also, simultaneously, both cantonal and Federal citizenship.

Now in Switzerland there are 3164 *political communes* (*municipalités* or *Einwohnergemeinden*). These are composed of all male Swiss citizens over twenty years of age, of good character and resident in the commune for at least three months. The meeting of these persons is called the *assemblée générale* or *Gemeindeversammlung*, while the executive council chosen by it is the *conseil municipal* or *Gemeinderat*, the chief person in the commune (elected by the larger meeting) being termed the *syndic* or *maire*, the *Gemeindepräsident* or the *Gemeindeammann*. This kind of commune includes all Swiss residents (hence the German name) within its territorial limits, and has practically all powers of management of local affairs, including the carrying out of cantonal and Federal laws or decrees, save and except matters relating to the pastures and forests held in common. This class of commune dates only from the time of the Helvetic republic (1798–1802), and its duties were largely increased after the liberal movement of 1830; the care of the highways, the police, the schools, the administration of the poor law being successively handed over to it, so that it became a political body. As regards Swiss citizens belonging to cantons other than that in which they reside, the Federal Constitution of 1848 (art. 41) gave them rights of voting there in cantonal and Federal matters, but not in those relating exclusively to the commune itself. The Federal Constitution of 1874 (art. 43) gives to such persons as those named above (*établis* or *Niedergelassenen*—that is, permanent settlers) all voting rights, Federal, cantonal and communal (save as below), the two last-named after a stay of three months. Temporary residents being Swiss citizens (*e.g.* labourers, servants, students, officials not being communal officials) are called *résidents* or *Aufenthalter*, and are in most cantons considered to be as such incapable of voting in communal matters until after a residence of three months, though some cantons require a longer sojourn. Foreign residents are included under this class of *Aufenthalter*.

The *burgher communes* (*communes bourgeoises* or *Bürgergemeinden*), now principally of historical interest, having for the most part gradually merged with the other class of communes, were originally simply the communities that dealt with the management of the “lands subject to common user” or *Allmend* (mainly summer pastures and forests), but gradually obtained, by purchase or otherwise, the manorial rights, the burghers then being themselves the lords of the manor (as at Brixham in Devonshire). But when after the Reformation, owing to the suppression of the monasteries, the care of the poor was imposed by the Federal Diet, in 1551, on the several communes, these naturally aided only their own members, a course which gave rise to a “communal burghership,” a system designed to prevent persons from gaining a “settlement” in any commune to which they did not properly belong. Thus all non-burgher residents, permanent or temporary, were excluded from any share in the enjoyment of the lands subject to common user, or, in their management, and remained complete

outsiders, though paying local rates. With the increased facilities of communication and the rise of a shifting industrial population such restrictions became invidious and unfair, particularly after the introduction, under the Helvetic republic, of a Federal citizenship, superior to cantonal citizenship, and after the communes became more and more burdened with public duties, so that the amount of the rates equalled, if it did not exceed, the sums produced by the "common lands." To avoid some of these inconveniences "political communes" were set up, consisting practically of all Swiss permanent residents. But the relation between these and the old *Bürgergemeinden* (the burghers of which only have rights of user over the common lands) was very delicate, and has been settled (if settled at all) in various fashions. In some cases the older communes simply merged with the newer, the ownership of the common lands thus passing from one to the other class. In other cases the *Bürgergemeinden* still exist as distinct from the "political communes" but solely for purposes (enjoyment, management, &c.) relating to the common lands, and thus form a sort of privileged community inside the larger and now more generally important community. In some cases the common lands have been divided in varying proportions between the two classes of communes, the *Bürgergemeinden* thus continuing to exist solely as regards that part of the common lands which they have retained. In other cases the common lands, whether before or after 1798, have passed into the possession of a small number of the burghers, who form a close corporation, the revenues of which are enjoyed by the members as such, and not as citizens—in short are subject to no public obligations or burdens save rates and taxes.

The twenty-two cantons (three are subdivided—Unterwalden, Appenzell and Basel—into two halves) are divided into "administrative districts" (187 in number), which are ruled by prefects, in the French fashion, appointed by the cantonal authorities. These are the true local divisions in the country. Each canton has its own legislature, executive and judiciary. The older cantons have in some cases (Uri, Unterwalden, Appenzell and Glarus) preserved their ancient democratic assemblies (or *Landesgemeinden*), in which each burgher appears in person, and which usually meet once a year, on the last Sunday in April or the first Sunday in May, always (weather permitting) in the open air. These annual assemblies elect annually a sort of standing committee, and also the chief magistrate or *Landammann*, as well as the judiciary. In the other eighteen cantons the legislature (*Gross Rat* or *grand conseil*) is composed of representatives chosen by the cantonal voters in proportion, varying in each canton, to the population. They are thus local parliaments rather than mere county councils. The executive (*Regierungsrat* or *conseil d'état*) is elected everywhere (save Fribourg, the Valais and Vaud) by a popular vote, this plan having gradually superseded election by the cantonal legislature. All the cantons (save Fribourg) have the referendum and initiative, by which the electors can exercise control over their elected representatives. The cantonal judiciary is chosen by the people.

In 1848 the Federal government was reorganized according to the plan adopted in the United States, at any rate so far as regards the legislature (*Bundesversammlung* or *assemblée fédérale*). This is composed of two houses: (1) the *Ständerat* or *conseil des états*, to which each canton, great or small, sends two representatives (generally chosen for varying terms by the people, but, in 1907, still by the cantonal legislature in Bern, Fribourg, Neuchâtel, St Gall, the Valais and Vaud), this house being like the American Senate; (2) the *Nationalrat* or *conseil national*, composed of representatives (at present 167 in number) elected within the cantons in the proportion of 1 to every 20,000 (or fraction over 10,000) of the population, and holding office for three years, before the expiration of which it cannot be dissolved. The two houses are on an absolutely equal footing, and bills are introduced into one or the other simply because of reasons of practical convenience. The Federal parliament meets, at least once a year, in Bern, the Federal capital. The Federal executive (*Bundesrat* or *conseil fédéral*) was set up in 1848 and is composed of seven members, who are elected for three years by the two houses of the Federal legislature, sitting together as a congress, but no two members may belong to the same canton. The Federal parliament annually names the president (*Bundespräsident* or *président de la confédération*) and the vice-president, so that the former is really but the chairman of a committee, and not in any way like the American president. The Federal president always holds the foreign portfolio (the "political department"), the other portfolios being annually redistributed among the other members, but all decisions proceed from the council as a whole. The Federal councillors cannot be at the same time members of either house of the Federal parliament, though they may speak or introduce motions (but not vote) in either house. The Federal Supreme Court (*Bundesgericht* or *tribunal fédéral*) was created by the Federal Constitution of 1874 and is (since 1904) composed of 19 full members (plus 9 substitutes), all elected by the two houses of the Federal parliament, sitting together and holding office for six years; the Federal parliament also elects every two years the president and vice-president of the Federal tribunal. Its seat is at Lausanne. Its jurisdiction extends to disputes between the Confederation, the cantons and private individuals, so far as these differences refer to Federal matters. An appeal lies in some cases (not too clearly distinguished) to the Federal council, and in some to the two houses of the Federal legislature sitting together.

It was natural that, as the members of the Swiss Confederation were drawn closer and closer together, there should arise the idea of a *Federal code* as distinguished from the manifold cantonal legal systems. The Federal Constitution of 1874 conferred on the Federal authorities the power to legislate on certain defined legal subjects, and advantage was taken of this to revise and codify the Law of Obligations (1881) and the Law of Bankruptcy (1889). The success of these attempts led to the adoption by the Swiss people (1898) of new constitutional articles, extending the powers of the Federal authorities to the other departments of civil law and also to criminal law. Drafts carefully prepared by commissions of specialists were slowly considered during nearly two years by the two houses of the Federal parliament, which finally adopted the civil code on the 10th of December 1907, and it was expected that by 1912 both a complete Federal civil code and a complete Federal criminal code would come into operation.

Before 1848 there was scarcely such a thing as *Federal finances* for there was no strong central Federal authority. As the power of those authorities increased, so naturally did their expenditure and receipts. In 1849 the receipts were nearly £240,000, as against an expenditure of £260,000. By 1873 each had risen to rather over £1,250,000, while in 1883 they just overtopped £2,000,000 sterling each, and in 1900 the receipts were just over £4,000,000 sterling, as against an expenditure of nearly £4,000,000. The figures for 1907 are £5,750,000 as against just over £5,500,000, and are the highest yet recorded. The funded Federal debt rose from a modest £150,000 in 1849 to rather over £2,000,000 in 1891, and rather over £4,000,000 in 1903, standing in 1905 at £3,250,000.

During 1902 to 1907 there was always a balance on the right side of the Public Accounts, this balance rising as high as £503,000 in 1905. But 1908 and 1909 both showed deficits. However, in 1910 there was again a surplus of £221,000 (the receipts amounting to £6,674,000 as against an expenditure of £6,453,000). But in 1911 there was again a deficit, though only of some £10,000, the receipts being £7,838,000 as against an expenditure of £7,848,000. With the exception of about £500,000 annually the receipts of the Federal Treasury are derived from three main sources—Customs Duties, Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone. But in these cases the Customs Duties alone show a constant great surplus, so that they form the backbone of Federal finance. In 1908 these Customs Duties were £2,810,000 (a slight falling off on the yield of 1907), but in 1909 amounted to £2,970,000, in 1910 to £3,320,000, and in 1911 to £3,230,000; the budget estimate for 1912 was only £3,191,000, but for 1913 rose to £3,312,000. Swiss statesmen are rather uneasy at the fact that Federal finances depend so largely on a single source of revenue always uncertain, and rendered still more uncertain by the approaching expiration of the tariff treaties. Besides, the expenditure is always increasing, especially for the Army (£1,690,000 in 1910, and £1,790,000 in 1911), the incessant demand for Federal subventions and the as yet unknown expenses of working the new Insurance Law. In 1911 the funded debt of the Swiss Confederation was £4,686,000.

By the Federal Constitution of 1848 the *post office* was made a Federal attribute, and the first Federal law on the subject was passed in 1849 (postage stamps within the country in 1850, for foreign lands in 1854, and post-cards in 1870), while a Federal law of 1851 extended this privilege to the electric telegraph, so that in 1852 the first line was opened with thirty-four offices. In the Federal Constitution of 1874 both branches are declared to fall within the jurisdiction of the Confederation, while in 1878 this privilege was extended to the newly invented telephone. Inviolability of communications in all three cases is guaranteed.

In 1891 the Swiss people accepted the principle of a *state bank* with a monopoly of note issue. A first scheme was rejected by a popular vote in 1897, but a second was more successful in 1905. The "Swiss National Bank" was actually opened on the 20th of June 1907, its two chief seats being at Zürich and at Bern. It has a capital of £2,000,000 sterling, divided into 100,000 shares. Two-fifths of this capital is reserved to the cantons in proportion to their population in 1900, and two-fifths were taken up by public subscription in June 1906. The remaining fifth was reserved to the existing thirty-six banks in Switzerland (all founded between 1834 and 1900), which have hitherto enjoyed the right of issuing notes. It was stipulated that within three years of the opening of the National Bank all notes issued by these thirty-six banks must be withdrawn, and many had by 1907 taken this course in anticipation.

There is no "established Swiss Church" recognized by the Federal Constitution, but there may be one or more "established churches" in any canton. The Federal Constitution of 1874 guarantees full religious liberty and freedom of worship, not being contrary to morals and the public peace, as well as exemption from any compulsory church rates (arts. 49 and 50). But it repeats, with fresh pricks (art. 51), the provision of the Constitution of 1848 by which the Jesuits and all affiliated religious orders are forbidden to settle in Switzerland, extending this prohibition to any other orders that may endanger the safety of the state or the public peace. It also introduces a new article (No. 52) forbidding the erection of new religious orders or new monasteries or the re-establishment of old ones, and also a new clause (last part of art. 50) by which the erection of new bishoprics on Swiss soil is subject to the approval of the Federal authorities. The Jesuit article was due to the

"Sonderbund" War of 1847, and the rest of this exceptional legislation to the "Kulturkampf," which raged in Switzerland in 1872-1874. The Protestants form rather over three-fifths of the population, but have the majority in $10\frac{1}{2}$ of the 22 cantons only. In the German-speaking cantons they are Zwinglians, and in the French-speaking cantons Calvinists, though in neither case of the original and orthodox shade. The Protestants alone are "established" in the Outer Rhodes of Appenzell; while the Romanists alone are "established" in $7\frac{1}{2}$ cantons (Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Ticino, the Valais, and the Inner Rhodes of Appenzell), but only jointly in the 3 other cantons (Fribourg, St Gall and Soleure) in which they are in a majority. In June 1907 Geneva decided on the complete separation of church and state, and now stands alone in Switzerland in not having any "established church" at all (previously it had two—Protestants and Christian Catholics). In the other 21 cantons, the Protestants and Romanists are jointly "established" in $11\frac{1}{2}$, as are the Protestants and the Christian Catholics in 13, in which the Christian Catholics take the place of the Romanists. Thus out of the 21 cantons with "established churches" (*Landeskirchen* or *églises nationales*) the Protestants are solely or jointly "established" in $13\frac{1}{2}$, and the Romanists in 19 (not in Bern, Urban Basel and the Outer Rhodes of Appenzell), while the Christian Catholics are recognized in 7 cantons, in two of which (Basel and Neuchâtel) they are also "endowed." The case of Neuchâtel is particularly striking, as it has three "established churches" (Protestants, Romanists and Christian Catholics), while there the Jewish rabbis, as well as the *pasteurs* of the Free Evangelical Church, are exempt from military service. Besides a few parishes in Bern there are also three "Evangelical Free Churches" (*Eglises libres*), viz. in Vaud (since 1847), in Geneva (since 1848), and in Neuchâtel (since 1873). The Romanists have five diocesan bishops in Switzerland—Sion (founded in the 4th century), Geneva (4th century), Basel (4th century, but reorganized in 1828), Coire (5th century), Lausanne (6th century), and St Gall (till 1824 part of the bishopric of Constance, and a separate see since 1847). There are besides the sees of Lugano (erected in 1888 for Italian Switzerland—till then in Milan or Como—but united for the present to the see of Basel, though administered by a suffragan bishop) and Bethlehem (a see *in partibus*), annexed in 1840 to the abbacy of St Maurice in the Valais. The Christian Catholics (who resemble the Old Catholics in Germany) split off from the Romanists in 1874 on the question of papal infallibility (in Bern and Geneva politics also played a great part), and since 1876 have had a bishop of their own (consecrated by the German Old Catholic, Bishop Reinkens, who resides in Bern, but bears no diocesan title. The Christian Catholics (who in the census are counted with the Romanists) are strongest in Bern, Soleure and Geneva, while their number in 1906 was estimated variously at from twenty to thirty-four thousand—they have 38 parishes (10 being in French-speaking Switzerland) and some 57 pastors. There are still a few monasteries in Switzerland which have escaped suppression. The principal are the Benedictine houses of Disentis (founded in the 7th century by the Irish monk Sigisbert) Einsiedeln (10th century) and Engelberg (12th century) as well as the houses of Austin Canons at St Maurice (held by them since 1128, though the house was founded by Benedictines in the 6th century) and on the Great St Bernard (11th century).

Education.—Education of all grades is well cared for in Switzerland, and large sums are annually spent on it by the cantons and the communes, with substantial grants from the Confederation (these last in 1905 were about £224,000), so far as regards primary and higher education. Four classes of educational establishments exist.

a. In the case of the *primary education*, the Confederation has the oversight (Federal Constitution of 1874, art. 27), but the cantons the administration. It is laid down that in the case of the public primary schools four principles must be observed by the cantons: the instruction given must be sufficient, it must be under state (*i. e.* lay) management (ecclesiastics as such can have no share in it), attendance must be compulsory, and the instruction must be gratuitous, while members of all religions must be able to frequent the schools without offence to their belief or consciences (this is interpreted to mean that the general instruction given must be undenominational, while if any denominational instruction is given attendance at it must not be made compulsory). By an amendment to the Federal Constitution adopted in 1902 the Confederation is empowered to make grants in aid in the case of primary schools, while a Federal law of 1903, regulating such grants to be appropriated solely to certain specified purposes, provides that the term "primary schools" shall include continuation schools if attendance is compulsory. The cantons organize primary education in their territories, delegating local arrangements (under the control of a cantonal inspector) to a committee (*Schulkommission*) elected *ad hoc* in each commune, so that it is not a committee of the communal council. The general principles laid down by the Confederation are elaborated into laws by each canton, while the communal councils pass by-laws. Hence there is a great variety in details between canton and canton. The school age varies from 6 to 16 (for younger scholars there are voluntary kindergarten schools or *écoles enfantines*), and attendance during this period is compulsory, it not being possible to obtain exemption by passing a certain standard. Two-thirds of the schools are "mixed"; in the towns, however, boys are often separated from girls. The teachers (who must hold a cantonal certificate of efficiency) are chosen

by the Schulkommission from among the candidates who apply for the vacant post, but are elected and paid by the communal council. Religious tests prevail as to teachers, who must declare the religion they profess, and are required to impart the religious instruction in the school, this being compulsory on the children professing the religion that is in the majority in that particular commune—consequently a Protestant teacher would never be appointed in a Romanist school or vice versa. The religious teaching occupies an hour (always at the beginning of the school hours) thrice a week, while special dogmatic instruction is imparted by the pastor, outside the school-house as a rule, or in a room specially set apart therein. The pastor is *ex officio* president of the Schulkommission, while the religious teaching in school is based on a special "school Bible," containing short versions of the chief events in Bible history. The exact curriculum (code) is prescribed by the canton, and also the number of hours during which the school must be open annually, but the precise repartition of these is left to the local Schulkommission. The attendance registers kept by the teachers are submitted to the Schulkommission, which takes measures against truant children or negligent parents by means of a written warning, followed (if need be) by a summons before a court. The treasurer of the Schulkommission receives and distributes the money contributions of the cantons (including the grant in aid from the Confederation) and also of the communes, or of benevolent private individuals. The school hours are as a rule four hours (from 7 a.m. in summer and 8 a.m. in winter) in the morning and (in the winter) three hours in the afternoon, but on two afternoons in the week there is a sewing school for the girls, the boys being then free. There are no regular half-holidays. Private schools are permitted, but receive no financial aid from the outside, while the teacher must hold a certificate of efficiency as in the state schools, must adopt the same curriculum, and is subject to the by-laws made by the Schulkommission. On the other hand he is not bound by any conscience clause and can charge fees. A cantonal inspector examines each school (of either class) annually and reports to the cantonal educational authorities, who point out any deficiencies to the local Schulkommission, which must remedy them. There is no payment by results, nor do the money contributions (from any source) depend on the number of attendances made, though of course they are more or less in proportion to the number of scholars attending that particular school. Some favour the idea of making the primary schools wholly dependent financially on the Confederation. This course has obvious conveniences, but a first attempt was defeated in 1882, and the scheme is still opposed, mainly on the ground that it would seriously impair the principle of cantonal sovereignty, and immensely strengthen the power of the Federal educational authorities. By the law of 1903 the quota of the Federal subvention was fixed at sixpence per head of the resident population of each canton, but in the case of $6\frac{1}{2}$ cantons (the poorer ones) an extra twopenny was added.

b. The *secondary schools* are meant on the one side to help those scholars of the primary schools who desire to increase their knowledge though without any idea of going on to higher studies, and on the other to prepare certain students for entrance into the middle schools. The attendance everywhere is optional, save in the city of Basel, where it is compulsory. These schools vary very much from canton to canton. The course of studies extends over two to four years, and students are admitted at ages from ten upwards. The curriculum includes the elements of the classical and modern languages, of mathematics, and of the natural sciences. They receive no Federal subvention, but are supported by the cantons and the communes. In 1905 the cantons contributed £20,000 less than the communes to the total cost of about £234,000.

c. Under the general name of *middle schools* (*Mittelschulen* or *écoles moyennes*) the Swiss include a variety of educational establishments, which fall roughly under two heads:—

1. Technical schools (like those at Bienne and Winterthur) and schools for instruction in various professions (commerce, agriculture, forestry and the training colleges for teachers).
2. Grammar schools, colleges and cantonal schools, which in some cases prepare for the universities and in some cases do not.

The expenses of both classes fall mainly on the cantons (in 1905 about £300,000 to £130,000 from the communes), who for the former class (including certain departments of the second) receive a grant in aid from the Confederation—in 1905 about £84,500.

d. As regards the *higher education* the Federal Constitution of 1874 (art. 27) empowered the Confederation to erect and support, besides the existing Federal Polytechnic School (opened at Zürich in 1855, having been founded by virtue of art. 22 of the Federal Constitution of 1848), a Federal university (this has not yet been done) and other establishments for the higher education (see c. 1 above). This clause would seem to authorize the Confederation to make grants in aid of the cantonal universities, but as yet this has not been done, while the cantons are in no hurry to give up their local universities. There are seven full universities in Switzerland—Basel (founded in 1460), Zürich (1833), Bern (1834), Geneva (1873, founded in 1559 as an *académie*), Fribourg (international Catholic, founded in 1889), Lausanne (1890, founded in 1537 as an *académie*) and Neuchâtel (existed 1840–1848 refounded in 1866 and raised from the rank of an *académie* to that of a university

n 1909). There is besides a law school at Sion (existed 1807-1810, refounded in 1824). In general they each (save Sion, of course) have four faculties—theology, medicine, law and philosophy. Fribourg and Neuchâtel both lack a medical faculty, while Zürich and Bern have distinct faculties for veterinary medicine, and Zürich a special one for dentistry (in Geneva there is a school of dentistry), while Geneva and Neuchâtel support observatories. The theological faculty is in every case Protestant, save that in Fribourg there is only a Romanist faculty (192 students in 1907), while Bern has both a Protestant faculty and also a Christian Catholic faculty (11 students in 1907), but no Romanist faculty, despite the fact that the Romanists (mainly in the Bernese Jura) form about one-sixth of the population, while there are not very many Christian Catholics. These eight academical institutions were maintained by the cantons at a cost in 1905 of about £155,000, while in the winter session of 1906 the total number of matriculated students (of whom 3784 were non-Swiss) was 6444 (of whom 1904 were women—Fribourg does not receive them), besides 2077 "hearers"—in all 8521. The largest institution was Bern (1626 matriculated students) and the smallest Neuchâtel (163). The Federal Polytechnic School is fixed at Zürich and now comprises seven departments—architecture, engineering, industrial mechanics, industrial chemistry, agriculture and forestry, training of teachers in mathematics, physics and the natural sciences, and military science, besides a department for philosophy and political science. It enjoys a very high reputation and is much frequented by non-Swiss, who in the winter session of 1905-1906 numbered 522 out of the 1325 matriculated students (women are not admitted). In 1905 the cost of the maintenance of the school (which falls entirely upon the Confederation) was about £56,000.

Army.—The Swiss army is a purely militia force, receiving only periodical training (so far as regards men between 20 and 48 years of age), based upon the principle of universal compulsory personal military service. Till 1848 the cantons alone raised, armed, equipped and trained all military units and nominated the officers. By the Federal Constitution of 1848 (art. 20) the Confederation was entrusted with the training of the engineers, the artillery and the cavalry, with the education of instructors for all other arms, and with the higher training of all arms, while it was empowered to found military schools, to organize general military manœuvres, and to supply a part of the war *matériel*. The Confederation, too, was given the supervision of the training of the infantry, as well as the furnishing, the construction and the maintenance of all war *matériel*, which the cantons were bound to supply to the Confederation. The Federal Constitution of 1874 marked an advance on that of 1848 as to the following points. The principle of universal military service and the organization of the Federal army were developed according to the proportion of the population capable of bearing arms (in contradistinction to the 1848 system, art. 19, of fixed contingents in the proportion of 3 to every 100 men of the population of each canton); the entire military training and arming of these men and the cost of their uniform and equipment were taken over by the Confederation, which, too, supervised the military administration of the cantons. The uniform, equipment and weapons of the men were to be free of cost to them, while compensation was due from the Confederation to the families of those killed or permanently injured in the course of their military service, as well as to the invalids themselves. There thus remained to the cantons the raising of all the infantry units and of most of the cavalry and artillery units as well as the nomination of the officers of all arms; all these acts were subject to the supervision of the Confederation and had to be in accordance with Federal laws and regulations. An attempt made in 1895 to extend still further the sphere of action of the Confederation in military matters was rejected by a vote of the Swiss people. Thus the present system rests partly on the 1874 Constitution, and partly on the new military law, passed by the Federal parliament on the 12th of April 1907.

a. The 1874 Constitution forbids the maintenance of any standing army (art. 13), and also (art. 11) the practice (formerly very widespread) of hiring out contingents of mercenary soldiers by the Confederation or the cantons to foreign powers ("military capitulations"). The Federal government can, at or without the request of any canton, repress any disturbances within Switzerland by means of Federal troops, the cantons being bound to allow these free passage over their territory (arts. 16-17). By art. 18 every Swiss male citizen is subject to the obligation of personal military service (the families of those killed or permanently injured in the course of active Federal service as well as the invalids themselves are provided for by the Confederation), and the tax for those exempted is to be fixed by a Federal law, while every recruit receives free of cost his first uniform, equipment and weapons. Art. 16 provides that the Confederation has control of the Federal army and of the war *matériel*, the cantons being only allowed certain defined rights within their respective territories. By art. 20 the limits of the jurisdiction of the Confederation and of the cantons are defined. The Confederation has the sole right of legislation in military matters, but the execution of these laws is in the hands of the cantons, though under Federal supervision, while all branches of military training and arming are handed over to the Confederation; on the other hand, the cantons supply and keep up the equipment and the uniforms of the soldiers, though these expenses are reimbursed by the Confederation according to a certain scale fixed by Federal regulations to be made later on. Art. 21

enacts that, where military considerations do not stand in the way, the military units are to be formed of men of the same canton, but the actual raising of these units and the maintenance of their numbers, as well as the nomination and the promotion of the officers, belong to the cantons, subject to certain general principles to be laid down by the Confederation. Finally, the Confederation has (art. 22) the right of using or acquiring military drill grounds, buildings, &c.,* belonging to the cantons on payment of moderate compensation according to principles to be laid down in a Federal law. It will thus be seen that the Swiss army is by no means wholly in the hands of the Federal authorities, the cantons still having a large share in its management, though the military department of the Federal executive has the ultimate control and pays most of the military expenses. In fact it has been said in jest that the coat of a soldier belongs to his canton and his rifle to the Confederation.

b. After much discussion and careful consideration of the opinions of many experts, the Federal law of 1907 was enacted, by which more uniformity was introduced into administrative matters and the whole system remodelled, of course according to the general principles formulated in the Federal Constitution of 1874 and summarized under *a*.

The following is a bird's-eye view of the actual organization of the Swiss army. Every Swiss male citizen is bound to render personal military service between the ages of twenty and forty-eight. Certain classes are exempt, such as high Federal officials, clergymen (not being military chaplains), officials of hospitals and prisons, as well as custom-house officials and policemen and officials of public means of communication, but in the latter case only those whose services would be indispensable in time of war, *e.g.* post office, telegraph, telephone, railway and steamer employes (all exempted before 1907)—custom-house men, policemen and the officials last named must have had a first period of training before they are exempt. Those who are totally disqualified for any reason must, till the age of forty, pay an extra tax of 6 francs a head, plus $1\frac{1}{2}$ francs on every 1000 francs of their net property, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ francs on every 100 francs of their net income, the maximum tax that can be levied in any particular case being 3000 francs a year (property under 1000 francs and the first 600 francs of income are free from this tax, which is only levied as to its half in case of the men in the Landwehr): this tax is equally divided between the Confederation and the cantons, its total yield in 1905 being about £171,000. The cantonal authorities muster in certain fixed centres their young men of twenty years, who must appear personally in order to submit themselves at the hands of the Federal officials to a medical examination, a literary examination (reading, arithmetic, elementary Swiss geography and history, and the composition of a short written essay), as well as (since 1905) pass certain elementary gymnastic tests (a long jump of at least 8 ft., lifting at least four times a weight of about 37 lb. in both hands at once, and running about 80 yds. in under 14 seconds), different marks being given according to the degree of proficiency in these literary and gymnastic departments. Those falling below a certain standard—bodily, mental or muscular—are exempted, but may be "postponed" for not more than four years, in hopes that before that date the desired standard will be attained. If not totally disqualified (in that case they pay a tax) they may be incorporated not in the territorial army, but in the auxiliary forces (*e.g.* pioneers, hospital, commissariat, intelligence and transport departments). The cantons (under Federal supervision) see that the lads while still at school, receive a gymnastic training, while the Confederation makes money grants to societies which aim at preparing lads after leaving school for their military service, whether by stimulating bodily training or the practice of rifle shooting, in which case rifles, ammunition and equipment are supplied free—in all these cases the attendance of the lads is purely voluntary. In some cantons the young men, between the ages of eighteen and twenty, are required to attend a night school (in order to rub up their school knowledge) for sixty hours a winter for two winters, the teacher being paid by the Confederation and the lads being under military law. Naturally the lads from the large towns and the more prosperous cantons do best in the literary examination and those who belong to gymnastic societies in the gymnastic tests, though sheer bodily untrained strength avails much in the lifting of weights. In 1906 26,808 young men of twenty years of age were examined (this is exclusive of older men then first mustered). Of this number 14,045 (52.4 %) were at once enrolled as recruits, 3497 (13 %) were "postponed" for one or two years, and 9266 (34.6 %) were exempted wholly—these ratios vary but little, for the standard is kept rather high, partly owing to considerations of expense, so that a young fellow of twenty who becomes a "recruit" at once may be taken to be distinctly above the average in bodily and mental qualities. By the new law of 1907 the army is divided into three (not, as previously, four) classes—the *Auszug* or *élite* (men from twenty to thirty-two), the *Landwehr* (men between thirty-three and forty) and the *Landsturm* or *réserve* (men between forty-one and forty-eight). The recruits serve for different periods during their first year according to the arm of the service into which they are incorporated—infantry and engineers sixty-five days, artillery and garrison troops seventy-five days and cavalry ninety days, while those in the auxiliary troops serve but sixty days. Soldiers in the *élite* are called out seven times during their term of service for a period of eleven days a year (fourteen days for the artillery and garrison troops), while the *Landwehr* is only called out once for a training

period of eleven days. Cavalry men serve ten years in the *Élite* (no service in the *Landwehr*), and during that period are called out eight times for a training period of eleven days a year. Between the ages of twenty and forty each soldier must attain a certain proficiency in marksmanship (at least 30 points out of 90 in 10 shots), while there is an annual inspection (by cantonal officials) of arms, uniform and equipment. The Confederation also makes money grants to rifle societies, which in 1906 numbered 3732, had 220,951 members (all soldiers between twenty and forty must be members), and received Federal grants to the amount of about £13,500. Rifle and uniform become the full property of the soldier after he has completed his full term of service. Officers serve in the *Élite* till thirty-eight years of age, and in the *Landwehr* till forty-four (in the case of officers on the staff the service lasts till forty-eight years of age), while they remain in the *Landsturm* till fifty-two years of age. The Swiss army is made up (according to the new law of 1907) of a staff, composed of all the commanding officers on active service from the rank of major upwards (in this as in all the following cases the actual number is to be fixed by a Federal law), the general staff, the army service corps (post office, telegraph, railways, motor cars, chaplains, police, courts of justice, secretaries, &c., and the auxiliary services), while the soldiers proper are divided into a number of classes—infantry (including sharpshooters and cyclists), cavalry, artillery (including the mountain batteries), engineers (including sappers and railway labourers), garrison troops, the medical, veterinary (veterinary surgeons and farriers), commissariat and transport services (drivers and leaders of laden horses and mules). On the 1st of January 1907¹ (still under the old system) the numbers of the Swiss army were as follows:—the *Élite* had 139,514 (of which 104,263 were infantry, 5183 cavalry, 18,544 artillery and 5567 engineers), and the *Landwehr* 93,163 (including 67,955 infantry, 4378 cavalry, 13,332 artillery and 4313 engineers)—making thus a total of 232,677 men between the ages of twenty and forty-four years of age (17,221 infantry, 9561 cavalry, 31,866 artillery and 9880 engineers). To this total must be added 44,294 men in the armed *Landsturm* (forty-five to fifty years of age) and 262,138 auxiliary troops (pioneers, workmen in military establishments, medical, commissariat and transport departments, police, firemen, clerks, and men at a military *dépôt*). The total of the *Landsturm* and the auxiliary services is 306,432, so that a grand total is 539,109 men (under the old system officers served in the *Landwehr* till forty-eight, and in the *Landsturm* till fifty-five). The total expenses of the Swiss army rose from £928,000 in 1896 to £1,400,000 in 1906. Rifles are manufactured in Bern, ammunition at Thun and at Altdorf, uniforms are made in Bern, and the cavalry remount *dépôt* is at Thun, which is also the chief artillery centre of Switzerland. There is a department for military science at the Federal Polytechnic School at Zürich, one section being meant for students in general, and the other specially for officers.

¹ On the 1st of January 1911, the army numbered 211,567 men, of whom 69,573 were in the *Landwehr* and 142,054 in the *Auszug*.

APPENDIX

EVENTS BETWEEN 1909 AND 1912

THE triennial elections for the popularly elected house (the Nationalrath or Conseil National) of the Swiss Parliament took place in the autumn of 1911, and resulted (as has always been the case since the Federal Constitution came into force in 1848) in giving an overwhelming majority to the Radicals. In consequence of the new census the number of members (one for every 20,000 or fraction over 10,000 of the population, native born or foreigners) was increased from 167 to 189; of these 114 are Radicals, 38 Conservatives, 16 Social Democrats, 14 Centre (Liberal Conservative) and 7 Socialists.

Edward Müller, of Bern (b. 1848), colonel in the army, was elected the new President of the Confederation on Dec. 12, 1912, by 184 votes out of 196; and Arthur Hoffmann, of St Gall (b. 1857), also a colonel, was elected Vice-President. Both are Radicals in politics.

In 1909-1912 there were two cases of a popular Vote or Referendum, though in neither case one affecting the Federal Constitution. In 1910 a proposal (Initiative) to introduce proportional representation into the elections for the Nationalrath was defeated, though only by a majority of some 25,000 on a total poll of rather over 500,000 voters, while early in 1912 the Federal law as to insurance against sickness and accidents was accepted by a majority of some 46,000 votes on a poll of 528,000. Including 3 popular votes in 1908 (all affirmative), 2 being Amendments to the Constitution and 1 an Initiative prohibiting the manufacture or sale of absinthe, the statistics as to the Federal Referendum from 1874 to the end of 1912 stand at 20 as to Constitutional Amendments (14 accepted), 8 "Initiatives" (3 only accepted), and 31 as to Federal laws (12 accepted)—in all 59 polls of which 29 only were in the affirmative.

Despite the check to proportional representation suffered through the defeat of the Federal Referendum in 1910, it was accepted for cantonal legislatures by Lucerne (1909) and St Gall (1911), though rejected in 1911 by Zürich. But 9 cantons have now adopted this plan (in 1891 Neuchâtel and Ticino, in 1892 Geneva, in 1894 Zug, in 1895 Soleure, in 1900 Schwyz, in 1905 Basel-Stadt, in 1909 Lucerne and in 1911 St Gall); in general the Radicals oppose it and the Conservatives support it.

The number of the members of the Federal Tribunal was raised in 1912 from 19 to 24, in view of the great increase of business expected on the coming into force (Jan. 1, 1912) of the Federal Civil Code. It has also been proposed to increase that of the Federal Executive (Bundesrath or Conseil Fédéral) from 7 to 9 or more, and also to appoint a permanent head of the Political Department (practically a Minister of Foreign Affairs), but neither change has yet been adopted; both proposals are due to the increase of routine business which hinders departmental work, and to the fact that the President elected any given year may not be skilled in foreign affairs. On the other hand in 1911-1912 the Federal Council was greatly altered as to its *personnel*, owing to the death of 4 and retirement of 1 of its members, so that 5 new members were elected in 1911-1912, the two seniors having been chosen in 1895 and 1902 respectively. Three of the present members were born between 1845 and 1850, 1 in 1857, 2 in 1862 and 1868, and the junior as recently as 1871. This junior member (Motta, of Ticino) is also interesting as he replaces the single Roman Catholic Conservative on the Council, one only having been elected from 1891 onwards, though between 1848 and 1891 no member of that shade of opinion was ever chosen. Up to November 1912, 43 Federal Councillors had been chosen since 1848, Vaud having had 8, Zürich 6, Bern and Neuchâtel 4 each. Zürich and Bern have had one continuously. But the following 8 cantons have never had a representative on the Federal Council—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Fribourg, Valais, Schaffhausen, Appenzell and Zug. It is worthy of note that only one Federal Councillor has failed to be re-elected at the triennial election by the two houses of the Federal Legislature sitting in Congress—this was Challet-Venel in 1873.

Another scheme for relieving the Federal authorities is the creation of an Administrative Court, which will decide administrative disputes, without troubling the higher powers.

By a decree of the Federal Council (June 23, 1911) the official name of the great Federal Polytechnic School (at Zürich) is to be henceforth "Federal Technical University"—this is to avoid the ordinary sense of "polytechnic" in Germany, where it is used of technical intermediate schools.

The chief event in the international relations of Switzerland in 1909-1912 was the so-called "Gotthard Convention." The railway was purchased by the Swiss Confederation in virtue of the popular vote in 1898, but this purchase only took effect on May 1, 1909.

The two great Powers which granted subventions towards its construction, Germany and Italy, maintained that this purchase could not be effected without their consent, which would only be given on certain conditions, to which the Swiss statesmen consented by a Convention dated Oct. 13, 1909, and to come into force on May 1, 1910. As soon as the text was made known it was seen that the Swiss negotiators had granted very large concessions to the two Powers named, especially the stipulation that, in case of the transit of persons and goods through Switzerland from or to either of the two countries named, Switzerland was bound to allow to the German and Italian railway lines all advantages or reductions which should at any time be given to the Swiss State Railways (arts. 7-8), the fixing of the transit dues without possibility of alteration (art. 11) and the special reduction in favour of Germany and Italy of the extra dues on the mountain bits of the St Gotthard line (art. 12). The last-named concessions mean a heavy financial loss to the Swiss State Railways, while the other provisions give the two Powers a sort of control over the Swiss State Railways, and so seem to infringe the sovereignty of Switzerland. This Convention has been ratified by the German Diet (March 1, 1910) and by the Italian Parliament (June 1912), but was still unadopted by the Swiss Federal Assembly in November 1912. A strong agitation has taken place in Switzerland against it, a petition signed by 116,000 citizens being presented (May 1, 1911) to the Federal Assembly.

The most important event in the domestic history of Switzerland during 1909-1912 was the acceptance (Feb. 4, 1912), by popular vote, of the Federal law establishing insurance against sickness and accidents; it was carried by a majority of 46,000 only on a poll of 528,000 in the face of strong resistance on the part of the foreign insurance companies, who saw their business being taken away.

The following is an outline of some of its chief provisions: (1) only certain trades and occupations are included under its compulsory provisions, railway and steamer employés, factory operatives and artisans or mechanics. Other classes of workmen or workwomen (such as servants, hotel employés and agricultural labourers) are *not* subject to these compulsory provisions, for they are protected by another law, by which the employer is responsible for his employés, save in the case when he prefers to insure them himself. (2) The Confederation is responsible for insurance against accidents only. In the case of insurance against sickness the matter is in the hands of the existing Friendly Societies, if they bring their statutes into accordance with this new law. But any canton or "commune" can enact that insurance against sickness shall be compulsory within its jurisdiction. (3) In the case of insurance against sickness the scale of contributions payable by the Confederation to the Friendly Societies is as follows for each person insured (whether compulsorily or of his free will, whether male or female, whether a native born Swiss or a foreigner): children up to and including 14 years of age, and also men, 3½ francs per annum, and women (including childbed benefits) 4 francs per annum. If, however, a Friendly Society makes a larger contribution than its statutes require, the Confederation *can* (not must) also make a larger contributory grant. In the special case of dwellers in mountain regions an *extra* grant up to 7 francs a head is made, over and above the sums given above. In the case of insurance against accidents the law distinguishes between accidents arising in the course of the workman's employment (then the Confederation pays $\frac{1}{3}$ and the employer $\frac{2}{3}$) or not in the course of his employment (here the workman must himself pay the premiums, but the Confederation contributes $\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount). (4) The benefits in the case of insurance against sickness are payment of the doctor's and apothecary's fees (the insured having the right of free choice of both doctor and apothecary), as well as a sick allowance of at least 1 franc a day. Lying-in women, who suckle their own babies during 10 weeks have a right to a grant of at least 20 francs, but no payment is made in respect to sick children under the age of 14. In the case of insurance against accidents, widows and orphans on the death of the bread-winner by accident, receive a pension up to 60 per cent. of the amount of the wages formerly received by him, in addition to a grant of 40 francs for funeral expenses. If the injured person is totally incapacitated the grant amounts to from 70 to 100 per cent. of the wages formerly received; if only temporarily incapacitated, the ordinary wages are given as from the third day after the accident. The trades are graded according to their dangerous character, and in this class of trade the premiums are higher.

All native Swiss workmen are entitled to these benefits, and also foreign workmen residing in Switzerland, provided their country grants Swiss residents there similar benefits (if not, the pensions are paid on a reduced scale and a lump sum given on leaving Switzerland). The date at which this law comes into force was not definitively settled, as much previous preparatory work has to be done. But it is supposed that the sickness part would be put into operation in the course of 1913 and the accident part probably in 1914.

Mention has been made above of some important events in several cantons, and, with an allusion to the great strike in the town of Zürich (summer of 1912), where the Socialists are acquiring more and more power, we may limit our attention to two other great cantons.

Basel.—In 1910 the separation of State and Church was here carried out. The number of the Romanists rose from about 5000 in 1850 to some 41,000 in 1910, thus forming about one-third of the population of the town. But they were unable to obtain favourable terms from the State, the pretext being that their regulations did not allow them to permit their

priests to be elected by their parishioners, and that they could not submit their internal regulations for the approval of the State. The Old Catholics (4500 in 1910) accepted these conditions, and so obtained a church in full ownership, a lump sum of £6000 and recognition (like the Protestants) as a "public corporation." The Romanists and the Jews are now only "private corporations" in Basel; the former received the provisional right of user of a church and a lump sum of £8000, while the Jews (2397 in 1910), the richest of all these religious communities, were awarded the derisory lump sum of £600.

Geneva.—In 1910 the electors of the now disestablished Protestant Church decided that women should have a vote in all ecclesiastical matters. In the same year a new Art and History Museum was opened, wherein many scattered collections have been brought together. But the chief event in recent Genevese history relates to its main (or Cornavin) railway station. This, like the line from the town to the French frontier, belonged to the French Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway Company, an obviously anomalous state of things. The result of many deliberations was a final arrangement on March 23, 1912—it was approved by the Federal Assembly in July 1912—as between the three parties; the Cornavin railway station, with the line to the French frontier, was ceded (against a considerable sum of money) by the French Company to the canton of Geneva, which passed them over on the same conditions to the Swiss State Railways. This arrangement was to take effect on Jan. 1, 1913, but the French Railway Company (against payment) was to have the right of joint user of the Cornavin station and to pay half the expenses of its upkeep. On the other hand the scheme for the connecting ("raccordement") of the Cornavin station with the Eaux Vives station (for P.L.M. lines to Chamonix and Savoy), 6½ m. distant, but involving bridges over the Rhone and the Arve, was to be carried out at the joint expense (estimated at nearly 1 million sterling) of the Confederation (two-thirds) and of the canton of Geneva.

According to the Federal census of 1910, the town of Geneva numbered 57,519 foreigners among its inhabitants, while the native-born Genevese were only 3631 more than the Swiss from other cantons.

ITALY

CHAPTER I

ITALY IN THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

FOR many generations Italy had been bandied to and fro between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. The decline of French influence at the close of the reign of Louis XIV. left the Habsburgs and the Spanish Bourbons without serious rivals. The former possessed the rich duchies of Milan (including Mantua) and Tuscany; while through a marriage alliance with the house of Este of Modena (the Archduke Ferdinand had married the heiress of Modena) its influence over that duchy was supreme. It also had a few fiefs in Piedmont and in Genoese territory. By marrying her daughter, Maria Amelia, to the young duke of Parma, and another daughter, Maria Carolina, to Ferdinand of Naples, Maria Theresa consolidated Habsburg influence in the north and south of the peninsula. The Spanish Bourbons held Naples and Sicily, as well as the duchy of Parma. Of the nominally independent states the chief were the kingdom of Sardinia, ruled over by the house of Savoy, and comprising Piedmont, the isle of Sardinia and nominally Savoy and Nice, though the two provinces last named had virtually been lost to the monarchy since the campaign of 1793. Equally extensive, but less important in the political sphere, were the Papal States and Venetia, the former torpid under the obscurantist rule of pope and cardinals, the latter enervated by luxury and the policy of unmanly complaisance long pursued by doge and council. The ancient rival of Venice, Genoa, was likewise far gone in decline. The small states, Lucca and San Marino, completed the map of Italy. The worst governed part of the peninsula was the south, where feudalism lay heavily on the cultivators and corruption pervaded all ranks. Milan and Piedmont were comparatively well governed; but repugnance to Austrian rule in the former case, and the contagion of French Jacobinical opinions in the latter, brought those populations into increasing hostility to the rulers. The democratic propaganda, which was permeating all the large towns of the peninsula, then led to the formation of numerous and powerful clubs and secret societies; and the throne of Victor Amadeus III., of the house of Savoy, soon began to totter under the blows delivered by the French troops at the mountain barriers of his kingdom and under the insidious assaults of the friends of liberty at Turin. Plotting was rife at Milan, as also at Bologna, where the memory of old liberties predisposed men to cast off clerical rule and led to the first rising on behalf of Italian liberty in the year 1794. At Palermo the Sicilians struggled hard to establish a republic in place of the odious government of an alien dynasty. The anathemas of the pope, the bravery of Piedmontese and Austrians, and the subsidies of Great Britain failed to keep the league of Italian princes against France intact. The grand-duke of Tuscany was the first of the European sovereigns who made peace with, and recognized the French republic, early in 1795. The first fortnight of Napoleon's campaign of 1796 detached Sardinia from alliance with Austria and England. The enthusiasm of the Italians for the young Corsican "liberator" greatly helped his progress. Two months later Ferdinand of Naples sought for an armistice, the central duchies were easily overrun, and, early in 1797, Pope Pius VI. was fain to sign terms of peace with Bonaparte at Tolentino, practically ceding the northern part of his states, known as the Legations. The surrender of the last Habsburg stronghold, Mantua, on the 2nd of February 1797 left the field clear for the erection of new political institutions.

Already the men of Reggio, Modena and Bologna had declared for a democratic policy, in which feudalism and clerical rule should have no place, and in which manhood suffrage together with other rights promised by Bonaparte to the men of Milan in May 1796, should form the basis of a new order of things. In taking this step the Modenese and Romagnols had the encouragement of Bonaparte, despite the orders which the French directory sent to him in a contrary sense. The result was the formation of an assembly at Modena which abolished feudal dues and customs, declared for manhood suffrage and established the Cispadane Republic (October 1796).

The close of Bonaparte's victorious campaign against the Archduke Charles in 1797 enabled him to mature his design to transfer Venice to Austria. On a far higher level was his conduct towards the Milanese. While the French directory saw in that province little more than a district which might be plundered and bargained for, Bonaparte, though by no means remiss in the exaction of gold and of artistic treasures, was laying the foundation of a friendly republic. During his sojourn at the castle of Montebello or Mombello, near Milan, he commissioned several of the leading men of northern Italy to draw up a project of constitution and list of reforms for that province. Meanwhile he took care to curb the excesses of the Italian Jacobins and to encourage the Moderates, who were favourable to the French connexion as promising a guarantee against Austrian domination and internal anarchy. He summed up his conduct in the letter of the 8th of May 1797 to the French directory, "I cool the hot heads here and warm the cool ones." The Transpadane Republic, or, as it was soon called, the Cisalpine Republic, began its organized life on the 9th of July 1797, with a brilliant festival at Milan. The constitution was modelled on that of the French directory, and, lest there should be a majority of clerical or Jacobinical deputies, the French Republic through its general, Bonaparte, nominated and appointed the first deputies and administrators of the new government. In the same month it was joined by the Cispadane Republic; and the terms of the treaty of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797), while fatal to the political life of Venice, awarded to this now considerable state the Venetian territories west of the river Adige. A month later, under the pretence of stilling the civil strifes in the Valtelline, Bonaparte absorbed that Swiss district in the Cisalpine Republic, which thus included all the lands between Como and Verona on the north, and Rimini on the south.

Early in the year 1798 the Austrians, in pursuance of the scheme of partition agreed on at Campo Formio, entered Venice and brought to an end its era of independence which had lasted some 1100 years. Venice with its mainland territories east of the Adige, inclusive of Istria and Dalmatia, went to the Habsburgs, while the Venetian isles of the Adriatic (the Ionian Isles) and the Venetian fleet went to strengthen France for that eastern expedition on which Bonaparte had already set his heart. Venice not only paid the costs of the war to the two chief belligerents, but her naval resources also helped to launch the young general on his career of eastern adventure. Her former rival, Genoa, had also been compelled, in June 1797, to bow before the young conqueror, and had undergone at his hands a remodelling on the lines already followed at Milan. The new Genoese republic, French in all but name, was renamed the Ligurian Republic.

Before he set sail for Egypt, the French had taken possession of Rome. Already masters of the papal fortress of Ancona, they began openly to challenge the pope's authority at the Eternal City itself. Joseph Bonaparte, then French envoy to the Vatican, encouraged democratic manifestations; and one of them, at the close of 1797, led to a scuffle in which a French general, Duphot, was killed. The French directory at once ordered its general, Berthier, to march to Rome; the Roman democrats proclaimed a republic on the 15th of February 1798, and on their invitation Berthier and his troops marched in. The pope, Pius VI., was forthwith haled away to Siena and a year later to Valence in the south of France, where he died. Thus fell the temporal power. The "liberators" of Rome thereupon proceeded to plunder the city in a way which brought shame on their cause and disgrace (perhaps not wholly deserved) on the general left in command, Masséna.

These events brought revolution to the gates of the kingdom of Naples, the worst-governed part of Italy, where the boorish king, Ferdinand IV. (*il re lazzarone*, he was termed), and his whimsical consort, Maria Carolina, scarcely held in check the discontent of their own subjects. A British fleet under Nelson, sent into the Mediterranean in May 1798 primarily for their defence, checkmated the designs of Bonaparte in Egypt, and then, returning to Naples, encouraged that court to adopt a spirited policy. It is now known that the influence of Nelson and of the British ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, and Lady Hamilton precipitated the rupture between Naples and France. The results were disastrous. The Neapolitan troops at first occupied Rome, but, being badly handled by their leader, the Austrian general, Mack, they were soon scattered in flight; and the Republican troops under General Championnet, after crushing the stubborn resistance of the *lazzaroni*, made their way into Naples and proclaimed the Parthenopean Republic (January 23, 1799). The Neapolitan Democrats chose five of their leading men to be directors, and tithes and feudal dues and customs were abolished. Much good work was done by the Republicans during their brief tenure of power, but it soon came to an end owing to the course of events which favoured a reaction against France. The directors of Paris, not content with over-

running and plundering Switzerland, had outraged German sentiment in many ways. Further, at the close of 1708 they virtually compelled the young king of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel IV., to abdicate at Turin. He retired to the island of Sardinia, while the French despoiled Piedmont, thereby adding fuel to the resentment rapidly growing against them in every part of Europe.

The outcome of it all was the War of the Second Coalition, in which Russia, Austria, Great Britain, Naples and some secondary states of Germany took part. The incursion of an Austro-Russian army, led by that strange but magnetic being, Suvarov, decided the campaign in northern Italy. The French, poorly handled by Scherer and Sérurier, were everywhere beaten, especially at Magnano (April 5) and Cassano (April 27). Milan and Turin fell before the allies, and Moreau, who took over the command, had much difficulty in making his way to the Genoese coast-line. There he awaited the arrival of Macdonald with the army of Naples. That general, Championnet's successor, had been compelled by these reverses and by the threatening pressure of Nelson's fleet to evacuate Naples and central Italy. In many parts the peasants and townsfolk, enraged by the licence of the French, hung on his flank and rear. The republics set up by the French at Naples, Rome and Milan collapsed as soon as the French troops retired; and a reaction in favour of clerical and Austrian influence set in with great violence. Sir William Hamilton, who had allowed himself to be influenced by Nelson's Royalist sympathies, was subsequently recalled in a manner closely resembling a disgrace, and his place was taken by Paget, who behaved with more dignity and tact.

Meanwhile Macdonald, after struggling through central Italy, had defeated an Austrian force at Modena (June 12, 1700), but Suvarov was able by swift movements utterly to overthrow him at the Trebbia (June 17-10). The wreck of his force drifted away helplessly towards Genoa. A month later the ambitious young general, Joubert, who took over Moreau's command and rallied part of Macdonald's following, was utterly routed by the Austro-Russian army at Novi (August 15) with the loss of 12,000 men. Joubert perished in the battle. The growing friction between Austria and Russia led to the transference of Suvarov and his Russians to Switzerland, with results which were to be fatal to the allies in that quarter. But in Italy the Austrian successes continued. Melas defeated Championnet near Coni on the 4th of November; and a little later the French garrisons at Ancona and Coni surrendered. The tricolour, which floated triumphantly over all the strongholds of Italy early in the year, at its close waved only over Genoa, where Masséna prepared for a stubborn defence. Nice and Savoy also seemed at the mercy of the invaders. Everywhere the old order of things was restored. The death of the aged Pope Pius VI. at Valence (August 29, 1700) deprived the French of whatever advantage they had hoped to gain by dragging him into exile: on the 24th of March 1800 the conclave, assembled for greater security on the island of San Giorgio at Venice, elected a new pontiff, Pius VII.

Such was the position of affairs when Bonaparte returned from Egypt and landed at Fréjus. The contrast presented by his triumphs, whether real or imaginary, to the reverses sustained by the armies of the French directory, was fatal to that body and to popular institutions in France. After the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November 1799) he, as first consul, began to organize an expedition against the Austrians (Russia having now retired from the coalition), in northern Italy. The campaign culminating at Marengo was the result. By that triumph (due to Desaix and Kellermann rather than directly to him) Bonaparte consolidated his own position in France and again laid Italy at his feet. The Austrian general, Melas, signed an armistice whereby he was to retire with his army beyond the river Minio. Ten days earlier, namely on the 4th of June, Masséna had been compelled by hunger to capitulate at Genoa: but the success at Marengo, followed up by that of Macdonald in north Italy, and Moreau at Hohenlinden (December 2, 1800), brought the emperor Francis to sue for peace which was finally concluded at Lunéville on the 9th of February 1801. The Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics (reconstituted soon after Marengo) were recognized by Austria on condition that they were independent of France. The rule of Pius VII. over the Papal States was admitted; and Italian affairs were arranged much as they were at Campo Formio: Modena and Tuscany now reverted to French control, their former rulers being promised compensation in Germany. Naples, easily worsted by the French, under Miollis, left the British alliance, and made peace by the treaty of Florence (March 1801), agreeing to withdraw her troops from the Papal States, to cede Piombino and the Presidi (in Tuscany) to France and to close her ports to British ships and commerce. King Ferdinand also had to accept a French garrison at Taranto, and other points in the south.

Other changes took place in that year, all of them in favour of France. By complex and secret bargaining with the court of Madrid, Bonaparte procured the cession to France of Louisiana, in North America, and Parma: while the duke of Parma (husband of an infanta of Spain, was promoted by him to the duchy of Tuscany, now renamed the kingdom of Etruria. Piedmont was declared to be a military division at the disposal of France (April 21, 1801); and on the 21st of September 1802, Bonaparte, then First Consul for life, issued a decree for its definitive incorporation in the French Republic. About that time,

too, Elba fell into the hands of Napoleon. Piedmont was organized in six departments on the model of those of France, and a number of French veterans were settled by Napoleon in and near the fortress of Alessandria. Besides copying the Roman habit of planting military colonies, the first consul imitated the old conquerors of the world by extending and completing the road-system of his outlying districts, especially at those important passes, the Mont Cenis and Simplon. He greatly improved the rough track over the Simplon Pass, so that, when finished in 1807, it was practicable for artillery. Milan was the terminus of the road, and the construction of the Foro Buonaparte and the completion of the cathedral added dignity to the Lombard capital. The Corniche road was improved; and public works in various parts of Piedmont, and the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics attested the foresight and wisdom of the great organizer of industry and quickener of human energies. The universities of Pavia and Bologna were reopened and made great progress in this time of peace and growing prosperity. Somewhat later the Pavia canal was begun in order to connect Lake Como with the Adriatic for barge-traffic.

The personal nature of the tie binding Italy to France was illustrated by a curious incident of the winter of 1802-1803. Bonaparte, now First Consul for life, felt strong enough to impose his will on the Cisalpine Republic and to set at defiance one of the stipulations of the treaty of Lunéville. On the pretext of consolidating that republic, he invited 450 of its leading men to come to Lyons to a *consulta*. In reality he and his agents had already provided for the passing of proposals which were agreeable to him. The deputies having been dazzled by fêtes and reviews, Talleyrand and Marescalchi, ministers of foreign affairs at Paris and Milan, plied them with hints as to the course to be followed by the *consulta*; and, despite the rage of the more democratic of their number, everything corresponded to the wishes of the First Consul. It remained to find a chief. Very many were in favour of Count Melzi, a Lombard noble, who had been chief of the executive at Milan; but again Talleyrand and French agents set to work on behalf of their master, with the result that he was elected president for ten years. He accepted that office because, as he frankly informed the deputies, he had found no one who "for his services rendered to his country, his authority with the people and his separation from party has deserved such an office." Melzi was elected vice-president with merely honorary functions. The constitution comprised a *consulta* charged with executive duties, a legislative body of 150 members and a court charged with the maintenance of the fundamental laws. These three bodies were to be chosen by three electoral colleges consisting of (a) landed proprietors, (b) learned men and clerics, (c) merchants and traders, holding their sessions biennially at Milan, Bologna and Brescia respectively. In practice the *consulta* could override the legislature; and, as the *consulta* was little more than the organ of the president the whole constitution may be pronounced as autocratic as that of France after the changes brought about by Bonaparte in August 1802. Finally we must note that the Cisalpine now took the name of the Italian Republic, and that by a concordat with the pope, Bonaparte regulated its relations to the Holy See in a manner analogous to that adopted in the famous French concordat promulgated at Easter 1802. It remains to add that the Ligurian Republic and that of Lucca remodelled their constitutions in a way somewhat similar to that of the Cisalpine.

Bonaparte's ascendancy did not pass unchallenged. Many of the Italians retained their enthusiasm for democracy and national independence. In 1803 movements in these directions took place at Rimini, Brescia and Bologna; but they were sharply repressed, and most Italians came to acquiesce in the Napoleonic supremacy as inevitable and indeed beneficial. The complete disregard shown by Napoleon for one of the chief conditions of the treaty of Lunéville (February 1801)—that stipulating for the independence of the Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics—became more and more apparent every year. Alike in political and commercial affairs they were for all practical purposes dependencies of France. Finally, after the proclamation of the French empire (May 18, 1804) Napoleon proposed to place his brother Joseph over the Italian state, which now took the title of kingdom of Italy. On Joseph declining, Napoleon finally decided to accept the crown which Melzi, Marescalchi, Serbelloni and others begged him to assume. Accordingly, on the 26th of May 1805, in the cathedral at Milan, he crowned himself with the iron crown of the old Lombard kings, using the traditional formula, "God gave it me: let him beware who touches it." On the 7th of June he appointed his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais, to be viceroy. Eugène soon found that his chief duty was to enforce the will of Napoleon. The legislature at Milan having ventured to alter some details of taxation, Eugène received the following rule of conduct from his step-father: "Your system of government is simple: the emperor wills it to be thus." Republicanism was now everywhere discouraged. The little republic of Lucca, along with Piombino, was now awarded as a principality by the emperor to Elisa Bonaparte and her husband, Bacciocchi.

In June 1805 there came a last and intolerable affront to the emperors of Austria and Russia, who at that very time were seeking to put bounds to Napoleon's ambition and to redress the balance of power. The French emperor, at the supposed request of the doge of Genoa, declared the Ligurian Republic to be an integral part of the French empire. This defiance to the sovereigns of Russia and Austria rekindled the flames of

war. The third coalition was formed between Great Britain, Russia and Austria, Naples soon joining its ranks.

While Masséna pursued the Austrians into their own lands at the close of 1805, Italian forces under Eugène and Gouvion St Cyr held their ground against allied forces landed at Naples. After Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) Austria made peace by the treaty of Pressburg, ceding to the kingdom of Italy her part of Venetia along with the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia. Napoleon then turned fiercely against Maria Carolina of Naples upbraiding her with her "perfidy." He sent Joseph Bonaparte and Masséna southwards with a strong column, compelled the Anglo-Russian forces to evacuate Naples, and occupied the south of the peninsula with little opposition except at the fortress of Gaeta. The Bourbon court sailed away to Palermo, where it remained for eight years under the protection afforded by the British fleet and a British army of occupation. On the 15th of February 1806 Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples in triumph, his troops capturing there two hundred pieces of cannon. Gaeta, however, held out stoutly against the French. Sir Sidney Smith with a British squadron captured Capri (February 1806), and the peasants of the Abruzzi and Calabria soon began to give trouble. Worst of all was the arrival of a small British force in Calabria under Sir John Stuart, which beat off with heavy loss an attack imprudently delivered by General Régnier, on level ground near the village of Maida (July 4). The steady volleys of Kempt's light infantry were fatal to the French, who fell back in disorder under a bayonet charge of the victors, with the loss of some 2700 men. Calabria now rose in revolt against King Joseph, and the peasants dealt out savage reprisals to the French troops. On the 18th of July, however, Gaeta surrendered to Masséna, and that marshal, now moving rapidly southwards, extricated Régnier, crushed the Bourbon rising in Calabria with great barbarity, and compelled the British force to re-embark for Sicily. At Palermo Queen Maria Carolina continued to make vehement but futile efforts for the overthrow of King Joseph.

It is more important to observe that under Joseph and his ministers or advisers, including the Frenchmen Roederer, Dumas, Miot de Melito and the Corsican Saliceti, great progress was made in abolishing feudal laws and customs, in reforming the judicial procedure and criminal laws on the model of the *Code Napoléon*, and in attempting the beginnings of elementary education. More questionable was Joseph's policy in closing and confiscating the property of 213 of the richer monasteries of the land. The monks were pensioned off, but though the confiscated property helped to fill the empty coffers of the state, the measure aroused widespread alarm and resentment among that superstitious people.

The peace of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) enabled Napoleon to press on his projects for securing the command of the Mediterranean, thenceforth a fundamental axiom of his policy. Consequently, in the autumn of 1807 he urged on Joseph the adoption of vigorous measures for the capture of Sicily. Already, in the negotiations with England during the summer of 1806, the emperor had shown his sense of the extreme importance of gaining possession of that island, which indeed caused the breakdown of the peace proposals then being considered; and now he ordered French squadrons into the Mediterranean in order to secure Corfu and Sicily. His plans respecting Corfu succeeded. That island and some of the adjacent isles fell into the hands of the French (some of them were captured by British troops in 1809-10); but Sicily remained unassailable. Capri, however, fell to the French on the 18th of October 1808, shortly after the arrival at Naples of the new king, Murat.

This ambitious marshal, brother-in-law of Napoleon, foiled in his hope of gaining the crown of Spain, received that of Naples in the summer of 1808, Joseph Bonaparte being moved from Naples to Madrid. This arrangement pleased neither of the relatives of the emperor; but his will now was law on the continent. Joseph left Naples on the 23rd of May 1808; but it was not until the 6th of September that Joachim Murat made his entry. A fortnight later his consort Caroline arrived, and soon showed a vigour and restlessness of spirit which frequently clashed with the dictates of her brother, the emperor, and the showy, unsteady policy of her consort. The Spanish national rising of 1808 and thereafter the Peninsular War diverted Napoleon's attention from the affairs of south Italy. In June 1809, during his campaign against Austria, Sir John Stuart with an Anglo-Sicilian force sailed northwards, captured Ischia and threw Murat into great alarm; but on the news of the Austrian defeat at Wagram, Stuart sailed back again.

It is now time to turn to the affairs of central Italy. Early in 1808 Napoleon proceeded with plans which he had secretly concerted after the treaty of Tilsit for transferring the infant of Spain who, after the death of her consort, reigned at Florence on behalf of her young son, Charles Louis, from her kingdom of Etruria to the little principality of Entre Douro e Minho which he proposed to carve out from the north of Portugal. Etruria reverted to the French empire, but the Spanish princess and her son did not receive the promised indemnity. Elisa Bonaparte and her husband, Bacciocchi, rulers of Lucca and Piombino, became the heads of the administration in Tuscany, Elisa showing decided governing capacity.

The last part of the peninsula to undergo the Gallicizing influence was the papal dominion. For some time past the relations between Napoleon and the pope, Pius VII., had been severely strained, chiefly because the emperor insisted on controlling the church, both in

France and in the kingdom of Italy, in a way inconsistent with the traditions of the Vatican, but also because the pontiff refused to grant the divorce between Jérôme Bonaparte and the former Miss Paterson on which Napoleon early in the year 1806 laid so much stress. These and other disputes led the emperor, as successor of Charlemagne, to treat the pope in a very high-handed way. "Your Holiness (he wrote) is sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor"; and he threatened to annul the presumed "donation" of Rome by Charlemagne, unless the pope yielded implicit obedience to him in all temporal affairs. He further exploited the Charlemagne tradition for the benefit of the continental system, that great engine of commercial war by which he hoped to assure the ruin of England. This aim prompted the annexation of Tuscany, and his intervention in the affairs of the Papal States. To this the pope assented under pressure from Napoleon; but the latter soon found other pretexts for intervention, and in February 1808 a French column under Miollis occupied Rome, and deposed the papal authorities. Against this violence Pius VII. protested in vain. Napoleon sought to push matters to an extreme, and on the 2nd of April he adopted the rigorous measure of annexing to the kingdom of Italy the papal provinces of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata and Camerina. This measure, which seemed to the pious an act of sacrilege, and to Italian patriots an outrage on the only independent sovereign of the peninsula, sufficed for the present. The outbreak of war in Spain, followed by the rupture with Austria in the spring of 1809, distracted the attention of the emperor. But after the occupation of Vienna the conqueror dated from that capital on the 17th of May 1809 a decree virtually annexing Rome and the *Patrimonium Petri* to the French empire. Here again he cited the action of Charlemagne, his "august predecessor," who had merely given "certain domains to the bishops of Rome as fiefs, though Rome did not thereby cease to be part of his empire."

In reply the pope prepared a bull of excommunication against those who should infringe the prerogatives of the Holy See in this matter. Thereupon the French general, Miollis, who still occupied Rome, caused the pope to be arrested and carried him away northwards into Tuscany, thence to Savona; finally he was taken, at Napoleon's orders, to Fontainebleau. Thus, a second time, fell the temporal power of the papacy. By an imperial decree of the 17th of February 1810, Rome and the neighbouring districts, including Spoleto, became part of the French empire. Rome thenceforth figured as its second city, and entered upon a new life under the administration of French officials. The Roman territory was divided into two departments—the Tiber and Trasimenus; the *Code Napoléon* was introduced, public works were set on foot and great advance was made in the material sphere. Nevertheless the harshness with which the emperor treated the Roman clergy and suppressed the monasteries caused deep resentment to the orthodox.

There is no need to detail the fortunes of the Napoleonic states in Italy. One and all they underwent the influences emanating from Paris; and in respect to civil administration, law, judicial procedure, education and public works, they all experienced great benefits, the results of which never wholly disappeared. On the other hand, they suffered from the rigorous measures of the continental system, which seriously crippled trade at the ports and were not compensated by the increased facilities for trade with France which Napoleon opened up. The drain of men to supply his armies in Germany, Spain and Russia was also a serious loss. A powerful Italian corps marched under Eugène Beauharnais to Moscow, and distinguished itself at Malo-Jaroslavitz, as also during the horrors of the retreat in the closing weeks of 1812. It is said that out of 27,000 Italians who entered Russia with Eugène, only 333 saw their country again. That campaign marked the beginning of the end for the Napoleonic domination in Italy as elsewhere. Murat, left in command of the Grand Army at Vilna, abandoned his charge and in the next year made overtures to the allies who coalesced against Napoleon. The vacillations of Murat met later with their just reward, but in the meantime the uncertainty caused by his policy in 1813-1814 had no small share in embarrassing Napoleon and in precipitating the downfall of his power in Italy. Eugène Beauharnais, viceroy of the kingdom of Italy, showed both constancy and courage; but after the battle of Leipzig (October 16-19, 1813) his power crumbled away under the assaults of the now victorious Austrians. By an arrangement with Bavaria, they were able to march through Tirol and down the valley of the Adige in force, and overpowered the troops of Eugène whose position was fatally compromised by the defection of Murat and the dissensions among the Italians. Very many of them, distrusting both of these kings, sought to act independently in favour of an Italian republic. Lord William Bentinck with an Anglo-Sicilian force landed at Leghorn on the 8th of March 1814, and issued a proclamation to the Italians bidding them rise against Napoleon in the interests of their own freedom. A little later he gained possession of Genoa. Amidst these schisms the defence of Italy collapsed. On the 10th of April 1814 Eugène, on hearing of Napoleon's overthrow at Paris, signed an armistice at Mantua by which he was enabled to send away the French troops beyond the Alps and entrust himself to the consideration of the allies. The Austrians, under General Bellegarde, entered Milan without resistance; and this event precluded the restoration of the old political order.

The arrangements made by the allies in accordance with the treaty of Paris (June 12, 1814) and the Final Act of the congress of Vienna (June 9, 1815), imposed on Italy boundaries

which, roughly speaking, corresponded to those of the pre-Napoleonic era. To the kingdom of Sardinia, now reconstituted under Victor Emmanuel I., France ceded its old provinces, Savoy and Nice; and the allies, especially Great Britain and Austria, insisted on the addition to that monarchy of the territories of the former republic of Genoa, in respect of which the king took the title of duke of Genoa, in order to strengthen it for the duty of acting as a buffer state between France and the smaller states of central Italy. Austria recovered the Milanese, and all the possessions of the old Venetian Republic on the mainland, including Istria and Dalmatia. The Ionian Islands, formerly belonging to Venice, were, by a treaty signed at Paris on the 5th of November 1815, placed under the protection of Great Britain. By an instrument signed on the 24th of April 1815, the Austrian territories in north Italy were erected into the kingdom of Lombardo-Venetia, which, though an integral part of the Austrian empire, was to enjoy a separate administration, the symbol of its separate individuality being the coronation of the emperors with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy. Francis IV., son of the archduke Ferdinand of Austria and Maria Beatrice, daughter of Ercole Rinaldo, the last of the Estensi, was reinstated as duke of Modena. Parma and Piacenza were assigned to Marie Louise, daughter of the Austrian emperor and wife of Napoleon, on behalf of her son, the little Napoleon, but by subsequent arrangements (1816-1817) the duchy was to revert at her death to the Bourbons of Parma, then reigning at Lucca. Tuscany was restored to the grand-duke Ferdinand III. of Habsburg-Lorraine. The duchy of Lucca was given to Marie Louise of Bourbon-Parma, who, at the death of Marie Louise of Austria, would return to Parma, when Lucca would be handed over to Tuscany. The pope, Pius VII., who had long been kept under restraint by Napoleon at Fontainebleau, returned to Rome in May 1814, and was recognized by the congress of Vienna (not without some demur on the part of Austria) as the sovereign of all the former possessions of the Holy See. Ferdinand IV. of Naples, not long after the death of his consort, Maria Carolina, in Austria, returned from Sicily to take possession of his dominions on the mainland. He received them back in their entirety at the hands of the powers, who recognized his new title of Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies. The rash attempt of Murat in the autumn of 1815, which led to his death at Pizzo in Calabria, enabled the Bourbon dynasty to crush malcontents with all the greater severity. The reaction, which was dull and heavy in the dominions of the pope and of Victor Emmanuel, systematically harsh in the Austrian states of the north, and comparatively mild in Parma and Tuscany, excited the greatest loathing in southern Italy and Sicily, because there it was directed by a dynasty which had aroused feelings of hatred mingled with contempt.

There were special reasons why Sicily should harbour these feelings against the Bourbons. During eight years (1806-1814) the chief places of the island had been garrisoned by British troops; and the commander of the force which upheld the tottering rule of Ferdinand at Palermo naturally had great authority. The British government, which awarded a large annual subsidy to the king and queen at Palermo, claimed to have some control over the administration. Lord William Bentinck finally took over large administrative powers, seeing that Ferdinand, owing to his dulness, and Maria Carolina, owing to her very suspicious intrigues with Napoleon, could never be trusted. The contest between the royal power and that of the Sicilian estates threatened to bring matters to a deadlock, until in 1812, under the impulse of Lord William Bentinck, a constitution modelled largely on that of England was passed by the estates. After the retirement of the British troops in 1814 the constitution lapsed, and the royal authority became once more absolute. But the memory of the benefits conferred by "the English constitution" remained fresh and green amidst the arid waste of repression which followed. It lived on as one of the impalpable but powerful influences which spurred on the Sicilians and the democrats of Naples to the efforts which they put forth in 1821, 1830, 1848 and 1860.

This result, accruing from British intervention, was in some respects similar to that exerted by Napoleon on the Italians of the mainland. The brutalities of Austria's white coats in the north, the unintelligent repression then characteristic of the house of Savoy, the petty spite of the duke of Modena, the medieval obscurantism of pope and cardinals in the middle of the peninsula and the clownish excesses of Ferdinand in the south, could not blot out from the minds of the Italians the recollection of the benefits derived from the just laws, vigorous administration and enlightened aims of the great emperor. The hard but salutary training which they had undergone at his hands had taught them that they were the equals of the northern races both in the council chamber and on the field of battle. It had further revealed to them that truth, which once grasped can never be forgotten, that, despite differences of climate, character and speech, they were in all essentials a nation.

CHAPTER II

AUSTRIAN RULE

As the result of the Vienna treaties, Austria became the real mistress of Italy. Not only did she govern Lombardy and Venetia directly, but Austrian princes ruled in Modena, Parma and Tuscany; Piacenza, Ferrara and Comacchio had Austrian garrisons; Prince Metternich, the Austrian chancellor, believed that he could always secure the election of an Austrophil pope, and Ferdinand of Naples, reinstated by an Austrian army, had bound himself, by a secret article of the treaty of June 12, 1815, not to introduce methods of government incompatible with those adopted in Austria's Italian possessions. Austria also concluded offensive and defensive alliances with Sardinia, Tuscany and Naples; and Metternich's ambition was to make Austrian predominance over Italy still more absolute, by placing an Austrian archduke on the Sardinian throne.

Victor Emmanuel I., the king of Sardinia, was the only native ruler in the peninsula, and the Savoy dynasty was popular with all classes. But although welcomed with enthusiasm on his return to Turin, he introduced a system of reaction which, if less brutal, was no less uncompromising than that of Austrian archdukes or Bourbon princes. His object was to restore his dominions to the conditions preceding the French occupation. The French system of taxation was maintained because it brought in ampler revenues; but feudalism, the antiquated legislation and bureaucracy were revived, and all the officers and officials still living who had served the state before the Revolution, many of them now in their dotage, were restored to their posts; only nobles were eligible for the higher government appointments; all who had served under the French administration were dismissed or reduced in rank; and in the army beardless scions of the aristocracy were placed over the heads of war-worn veterans who had commanded regiments in Spain and Russia. The influence of a bigoted priesthood was re-established, and "every form of intellectual and moral torment, everything save actual persecution and physical torture that could be inflicted on the 'impure' was inflicted" (Cesare Balbo's *Autobiography*). All this soon provoked discontent among the educated classes. In Genoa the government was particularly unpopular, for the Genoese resented being handed over to their old enemy Piedmont like a flock of sheep. Nevertheless the king strongly disliked the Austrians, and would willingly have seen them driven from Italy.

In Lombardy French rule had ended by making itself unpopular, and even before the fall of Napoleon a national party, called the *Italicisti puri*, had begun to advocate the independence of Lombardy, or even its union with Sardinia. At first a part of the population were content with Austrian rule, which provided an honest and efficient administration; but the rigid system of centralization which, while allowing the semblance of local autonomy, sent every minute question for settlement to Vienna; the severe police methods; the bureaucracy, in which the best appointments were usually conferred on Germans or Slavs wholly dependent on Vienna, proved galling to the people, and in view of the growing disaffection the country was turned into a vast armed camp. In Modena Duke Francis proved a cruel tyrant. In Parma, on the other hand, there was very little oppression, the French codes were retained, and the council of state was consulted on all legislative matters. Lucca too enjoyed good government, and the peasantry were well cared for and prosperous. In Tuscany the rule of Ferdinand and of his minister Fossombroni was mild and benevolent, but enervating and demoralizing. The Papal States were ruled by a unique system of theo-

cracy, for not only the head of the state but all the more important officials were ecclesiastics, assisted by the Inquisition, the Index and all the paraphernalia of medieval church government. The administration was inefficient and corrupt, the censorship unpromising, the police ferocious and oppressive, although quite unable to cope with the prevalent anarchy and brigandage; the antiquated pontifical statutes took the place of the French laws, and every vestige of the vigorous old communal independence was swept away. In Naples King Ferdinand retained some of the laws and institutions of Murat's régime, and many of the functionaries of the former government entered his service; but he revived the Bourbon tradition, the odious police system and the censorship; and a degrading religious bigotry, to which the masses were all too much inclined, became the basis of government and social life. The upper classes were still to a large extent inoculated with French ideas, but the common people were either devoted to the dynasty or indifferent. In Sicily, which for centuries had enjoyed a feudal constitution modernized and Anglicized under British auspices in 1812, and where anti-Neapolitan feeling was strong, autonomy was suppressed, the constitution abolished in 1816, and the island, as a reward for its fidelity to the dynasty, converted into a Neapolitan province governed by Neapolitan bureaucrats.

To the mass of the people the restoration of the old governments undoubtedly brought a sense of relief, for the terrible drain in men and money caused by Napoleon's wars had caused much discontent, whereas now there was a prospect of peace and rest. But the restored governments in their terror of revolution would not realize that the late régime had wafted a breath of new life over the country and left ineffaceable traces in the way of improved laws, efficient administration, good roads and the sweeping away of old abuses; while the new-born idea of Italian unity, strengthened by a national pride revived on many a stricken field from Madrid to Moscow, was a force to be reckoned with. The oppression and follies of the restored governments made men forget the evils of French rule and remember only its good side. The masses were still more or less indifferent, but among the nobility and the educated middle classes, cut off from all part in free political life, there was developed either the spirit of despair at Italy's moral degradation, as expressed in the writings of Foscolo and Leopardi, or a passion of hatred and revolt, which found its manifestation, in spite of severe laws, in the development of secret societies. The most important of these were the Carbonari lodges, whose objects were the expulsion of the foreigner and the achievement of constitutional freedom.

When Ferdinand returned to Naples in 1815 he found the kingdom, and especially the army, honeycombed with Carbonarism, to which many noblemen and officers were affiliated; and although the police instituted prosecutions and organized the counter-movement of the *Calderai*, who may be compared to the "Black Hundreds" of modern Russia, the revolutionary spirit continued to grow, but it was not at first anti-dynastic. The granting of the Spanish constitution in 1820 proved the signal for the beginning of the Italian liberationist movement; a military mutiny led by two officers, Silvati and Morelli, and the priest Menichini, broke out at Monteforte, to the cry of "God, the King, and the Constitution!" The troops sent against them commanded by General Guglielmo Pepe, himself a Carbonaro, hesitated to act, and the king, finding that he could not count on the army, granted the constitution (July 13, 1820), and appointed his son Francis regent. The events that followed are described in the article on the history of Naples. Not only did the constitution, which was modelled on the impossible Spanish constitution of 1812, prove unworkable, but the powers of the Grand Alliance, whose main object was to keep the peace of Europe, felt themselves bound to interfere to prevent the evil precedent of a successful military revolution. The diplomatic developments that led to the intervention of Austria are sketched elsewhere; in general the result of the deliberations of the congresses of Troppau and Laibach was to establish, not the general right of intervention claimed in the Troppau Protocol, but the special right of Austria to safeguard her interests in Italy. The defeat of General Pepe by the Austrians at Rieti (March 7, 1821) and the re-establishment of King Ferdinand's autocratic power under the protection of Austrian bayonets were the effective assertion of this principle.

The movement in Naples had been purely local, for the Neapolitan Carbonari had at that time no thought save of Naples; it was, moreover, a movement of the middle and upper classes in which the masses took little interest. Immediately after the battle of Rieti a Carbonarist mutiny broke out in Piedmont independently of events in the south. Both King Victor Emmanuel and his brother Charles Felix had no sons, and the heir presumptive to the throne was Prince Charles Albert, of the Carignano branch of the house of Savoy. Charles Albert felt a certain interest in Liberal ideas and was always surrounded by young nobles of Carbonarist and anti-Austrian tendencies, and was therefore regarded with suspicion by his royal relatives. Metternich, too, had an instinctive dislike for him, and proposed to exclude him from the succession by marrying one of the king's daughters to Francis of Modena, and getting the Salic law abolished so that the succession would pass to the duke and Austria would thus dominate Piedmont. The Liberal movement had gained ground in Piedmont as in Naples among the younger nobles and officers, and the events of Spain and southern Italy aroused much excitement. In March 1821, Count Santorre di Santarosa and other conspirators informed Charles Albert of a constitutional

and anti-Austrian plot, and asked for his help. After a momentary hesitation he informed the king; but at his request no arrests were made, and no precautions were taken. On the 10th of March the garrison of Alessandria mutinied, and its example was followed on the 12th by that of Turin, where the Spanish constitution was demanded, and the black, red and blue flag of the Carbonari paraded the streets. The next day the king abdicated after appointing Charles Albert regent. The latter immediately proclaimed the constitution, but the new king, Charles Felix, who was at Modena at the time, repudiated the regent's acts and exiled him to Tuscany; and, with his consent, an Austrian army invaded Piedmont and crushed the constitutionalists at Novara. Many of the conspirators were condemned to death, but all succeeded in escaping. Charles Felix was most indignant with the ex-regent, but he resented, as an unwarrantable interference, Austria's attempt to have him excluded from the succession at the congress of Verona (1822). Charles Albert's somewhat equivocal conduct also aroused the hatred of the Liberals, and for a long time the *esecrato Carignano* was regarded, most unjustly, as a traitor even by many who were not republicans.

Carbonarism had been introduced into Lombardy by two Romagnols, Count Laderchi and Pietro Maroncelli, but the leader of the movement was Count F. Confalonieri, who was in favour of an Italian federation composed of northern Italy under the house of Savoy, central Italy under the pope, and the kingdom of Naples. There had been some mild plotting against Austria in Milan, and an attempt was made to co-operate with the Piedmontese movement of 1821; already in 1820 Maroncelli and the poet Silvio Pellico had been arrested as Carbonari, and after the movement in Piedmont more arrests were made. The mission of Gaetano Castiglia and Marquis Giorgio Pallavicini to Turin, where they had interviewed Charles Albert, although without any definite result—for Confalonieri had warned the prince that Lombardy was not ready to rise—was accidentally discovered, and Confalonieri was himself arrested. The plot would never have been a menace to Austria but for her treatment of the conspirators. Pellico and Maroncelli were immured in the Spielberg; Confalonieri and two dozen others were condemned to death, their sentences being, however, commuted to imprisonment in that same terrible fortress. The heroism of the prisoners, and Silvio Pellico's account of his imprisonment (*Le mie Prigioni*), did much to enlist the sympathy of Europe for the Italian cause.

During the next few years order reigned in Italy, save for a few unimportant outbreaks in the Papal States; there was, however, perpetual discontent and agitation, especially in Romagna, where misgovernment was extreme. Under Pius VII. and his minister Cardinal Consalvi oppression had not been very severe, and Metternich's proposal to establish a central inquisitorial tribunal for political offences throughout Italy had been rejected by the papal government. But on the death of Pius in 1823, his successor Leo XII. (Cardinal Della Genga) proved a ferocious reactionary under whom barbarous laws were enacted and torture frequently applied. The secret societies, such as the Carbonari, the *Adelfi* and the *Bersaglieri d' America*, which flourished in Romagna, replied to these persecutions by assassinating the more brutal officials and spies. The events of 1820–1821 increased the agitation in Romagna, and in 1825 large numbers of persons were condemned to death, imprisonment or exile. The society of the *Sanfedisti*, formed of the dregs of the populace, whose object was to murder every Liberal, was openly protected and encouraged. Leo died in 1829, and the mild, religious Pius VIII. (Cardinal Castiglioni) only reigned until 1830, when Gregory XVI. (Cardinal Cappellari) was elected through Austrian influence, and proved another *zelante*. The July revolution in Paris and the declaration of the new king, Louis Philippe, that France, as a Liberal monarchy, would not only not intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, but would not permit other powers to do so, aroused great hopes among the oppressed peoples, and was the immediate cause of a revolution in Romagna and the Marches. In February 1831 these provinces rose, raised the red, white and green tricolor (which henceforth took the place of the Carbonarist colours as the Italian flag), and shook off the papal yoke with surprising ease.¹ At Parma too there was an outbreak and a demand for the constitution; Marie Louise could not grant it because of her engagements with Austria, and, therefore, abandoned her dominions. In Modena Duke Francis, ambitious of enlarging his territories, coquetted with the Carbonari of Paris and opened indirect negotiations with Menotti, the revolutionary leader in his state, believing that he might assist him in his plans. Menotti, for his part, conceived the idea of a united Italian state under the duke. A rising was organized for February 1831; but Francis got wind of it, and, repenting of his dangerous dallying with revolution, arrested Menotti and fled to Austrian territory with his prisoner. In his absence the insurrection took place, and Biagio Nardi, having been elected dictator, proclaimed that "Italy is one; the Italian nation one sole nation." But the French king soon abandoned his principle of non-intervention on which the Italian revolutionists had built their hopes; the Austrians intervened unhindered; the old governments were re-established in Parma, Modena and Romagna; and Menotti and many other patriots were hanged. The Austrians evacuated Romagna in July, but another insurrection having broken out immediately afterwards

¹ Among the insurgents of Romagna was Louis Napoleon afterwards emperor of the French.

which the papal troops were unable to quell, they returned. This second intervention gave umbrage to France, who by way of a counterpoise sent a force to occupy Ancona. These two foreign occupations, which were almost as displeasing to the pope as to the Liberals, lasted until 1838. The powers, immediately after the revolt, presented a memorandum to Gregory recommending certain moderate reforms, but no attention was paid to it. These various movements proved in the first place that the masses were by no means ripe for revolution, and that the idea of unity, although now advocated by a few revolutionary leaders, was far from being generally accepted even by the Liberals; and, secondly, that, in spite of the indifference of the masses, the despotic governments were unable to hold their own without the assistance of foreign bayonets.

On the 27th of April 1831, Charles Albert succeeded Charles Felix on the throne of Piedmont. Shortly afterwards he received a letter from an unknown person, in which he was exhorted with fiery eloquence to place himself at the head of the movement for liberating and uniting Italy and expelling the foreigner, and told that he was free to choose whether he would be "the first of men or the last of Italian tyrants." The author was Giuseppe Mazzini, then a young man of twenty-six years, who, though in theory a republican, was ready to accept the leadership of a prince of the house of Savoy if he would guide the nation to freedom. The only result of his letter, however, was that he was forbidden to re-enter Sardinian territory. Mazzini, who had learned to distrust Carbonarism owing to its lack of a guiding principle and its absurd paraphernalia of ritual and mystery, had conceived the idea of a more serious political association for the emancipation of his country not only from foreign and domestic despotism but from national faults of character; and this idea he had materialized in the organization of a society called the *Giovane Italia* (Young Italy) among the Italian refugees at Marseilles. After the events of 1831 he declared that the liberation of Italy could only be achieved through unity, and his great merit lies in having inspired a large number of Italians with that idea at a time when provincial jealousies and the difficulty of communications maintained separatist feelings. Young Italy spread to all centres of Italian exiles, and by means of literature carried on an active propaganda in Italy itself, where the party came to be called "Ghibellini," as though reviving the traditions of medieval anti-Papalism. Though eventually this activity of the *Giovane Italia* supplanted that of the older societies, in practice it met with no better success; the two attempts to invade Savoy in the hope of seducing the army from its allegiance failed miserably, and only resulted in a series of barbarous sentences of death and imprisonment which made most Liberals despair of Charles Albert, while they called down much criticism on Mazzini as the organizer of raids in which he himself took no part. He was now forced to leave France, but continued his work of agitation from London. The disorders in Naples and Sicily in 1837 had no connexion with Mazzini, but the forlorn hope of the brothers Bandiera, who in 1844 landed on the Calabrian coast, was the work of the *Giovane Italia*. The rebels were captured and shot, but the significance of the attempt lies in the fact that it was the first occasion on which north Italians (the Bandieras were Venetians and officers in the Austrian navy) had tried to raise the standard of revolt in the south.

Romagna had continued a prey to anarchy ever since 1831; the government organized armed bands called the *Centurioni* (descended from the earlier *Sanfedisti*), to terrorize the Liberals, while the secret societies continued their "propaganda by deeds." It is noteworthy that Romagna was the only part of Italy where the revolutionary movement was accompanied by murder. In 1845 several outbreaks occurred, and a band led by Pietro Renzi captured Rimini, whence a proclamation drawn up by L. C. Farini was issued demanding the reforms advocated by the powers' memorandums of 1831. But the movement collapsed without result, and the leaders fled to Tuscany.

Side by side with the Mazzinian propaganda in favour of a united Italian republic, which manifested itself in secret societies, plots and insurrections, there was another Liberal movement based on the education of opinion and on economic development. In Piedmont, in spite of the government's reactionary methods, a large part of the population were genuinely attached to the Savoy dynasty, and the idea of a regeneration of Italy under its auspices began to gain ground. Some writers proclaimed the necessity of building railways, developing agriculture and encouraging industries, before resorting to revolution; while others, like the Tuscan Gino Capponi, inspired by the example of England and France, wished to make the people fit for freedom by means of improved schools, books and periodicals. Vincenzo Gioberti published in 1843 his famous treatise *Del primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, a work, which, in striking contrast to the prevailing pessimism of the day, extolled the past greatness and achievements of the Italian people and their present virtues. His political ideal was a federation of all the Italian states under the presidency of the pope, on a basis of Catholicism, but without a constitution. In spite of all its inaccuracies and exaggerations the book served a useful purpose in reviving the self-respect of a despondent people. Another work of a similar kind was *Le Speranze d'Italia* (1844) by the Piedmontese Count Cesare Balbo. Like Gioberti he advocated a federation of Italian states, but he declared that before this could be achieved Austria must be expelled from Italy and compensation found for her in the Near East by making her a Danubian power—a curious forecast that Italy's liberation would begin with an

eastern war. He extolled Charles Albert and appealed to his patriotism; he believed that the church was necessary and the secret societies harmful; representative government was undesirable, but he advocated a consultative assembly. Above all Italian character must be reformed and the nation educated. A third important publication was Massimo d'Azeglio's *Degli ultimi casi di Romagna*, in which the author, another Piedmontese nobleman, exposed papal misgovernment while condemning the secret societies and advocating open resistance and protest. He upheld the papacy in principle, regarded Austria as the great enemy of Italian regeneration, and believed that the means of expelling her were only to be found in Piedmont.

Besides the revolutionists and republicans who promoted conspiracy and insurrection whenever possible, and the moderates or "Neo-Guelphs," as Gioberti's followers were called, we must mention the Italian exiles who were learning the art of war in foreign countries—in Spain, in Greece, in Poland, in South America—and those other exiles who, in Paris or London, eked out a bare subsistence by teaching Italian or by their pen, and laid the foundations of that love of Italy which, especially in England, eventually brought the weight of diplomacy into the scales for Italian freedom. All these forces were equally necessary—the revolutionists to keep up agitation and make government by bayonets impossible; the moderates to curb the impetuosity of the revolutionists and to present a scheme of society that was neither reactionary nor anarchical; the volunteers abroad to gain military experience; and the more peaceful exiles to spread the name of Italy among foreign peoples. All the while a vast amount of revolutionary literature was being printed in Switzerland, France and England, and smuggled into Italy; the poet Giusti satirized the Italian princes, the dramatist G. B. Niccolini blasted tyranny in his tragedies, the novelist Guerrazzi re-evoked the memories of the last struggle for Florentine freedom in *L'Assedio di Firenze*, and Verdi's operas bristled with political *double entendres* which escaped the censor but were understood and applauded by the audience.

On the death of Pope Gregory XVI. in 1846 Austria hoped to secure the election of another zealot; but the Italian cardinals, who did not want an Austrophil, finished the conclave before the arrival of Cardinal Gaysrúck, Austria's mouthpiece, and in June elected Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti as Pius IX. The new pope, who while bishop of Imole had evinced a certain interest in Liberalism, was a kindly man, of inferior intelligence, who thought that all difficulties could be settled with a little good-will, some reforms and a political amnesty. The amnesty which he granted was the beginning of the immense if short-lived popularity which he was to enjoy. But he did not move so fast in the path of reform as was expected, and agitation continued throughout the papal states.¹ In 1847 some administrative reforms were enacted, the laity were admitted to certain offices, railways were talked about, and political newspapers permitted. In April Pius created a *Consulta*, or consultative assembly, and soon afterwards a council of ministers and a municipality for Rome. Here he would willingly have stopped, but he soon realized that he had hardly begun. Every fresh reform edict was greeted with demonstrations of enthusiasm, but the ominous cry "Viva Pio Nono solo!" signified dissatisfaction with the whole system of government. A lay ministry was now demanded, a constitution, and an Italian federation for war against Austria. Rumours of a reactionary plot by Austria and the Jesuits against Pius, induced him to create a national guard and to appoint Cardinal Ferretti as secretary of state.

Events in Rome produced widespread excitement throughout Europe. Metternich had declared that the one thing which had not entered into his calculations was a Liberal pope, only that was an impossibility; still he was much disturbed by Pius's attitude, and tried to stem the revolutionary tide by frightening the princes. Seizing the agitation in Romagna as a pretext, he had the town of Ferrara occupied by Austrian troops, which provoked the indignation not only of the Liberals but also of the pope, for according to the treaties Austria had the right of occupying the citadel alone. There was great resentment throughout Italy, and in answer to the pope's request Charles Albert declared that he was with him in everything, while from South America Giuseppe Garibaldi wrote to offer his services to His Holiness. Charles Albert, although maintaining his reactionary policy, had introduced administrative reforms, built railways, reorganized the army and developed the resources of the country. He had little sympathy with Liberalism and abhorred revolution, but his hatred of Austria and his resentment at the galling tutelage to which she subjected him had gained strength year by year. Religion was still his dominant passion, and when a pope in Liberal guise appeared on the scene and was bullied by Austria, his two strongest feelings—piety and hatred of Austria—ceased to be incompatible. In 1847 Lord Minto visited the Italian courts to try to induce the recalcitrant despots to mend their ways, so as to avoid revolution and war, the latter being England's especial anxiety; this mission, although not destined to produce much effect, aroused extravagant hopes among the Liberals. Charles Louis, the opera-bouffe duke of Lucca, who had coquetted with Liberalism

¹ In Rome itself a certain Angelo Brunetti, known as Ciceruacchio, a forage merchant of lowly birth and a Carbonaro, exercised great influence over the masses and kept the peace where the authorities would have failed.

in the past, now refused to make any concessions to his subjects, and in 1847 sold his duchy to Leopold II. of Tuscany (the successor of Ferdinand III. since 1824) to whom it would have reverted in any case at the death of the duchess of Parma. At the same time Leopold ceded Lunigiana to Parma and Modena in equal parts, an arrangement which provoked the indignation of the inhabitants of the district (especially of those destined to be ruled by Francis V. of Modena, who had succeeded to Francis IV. in 1846), and led to disturbances at Fivizzano. In September 1847, Leopold gave way to the popular agitation for a national guard, in spite of Metternich's threats, and allowed greater freedom of the press; every concession made by the pope was followed by demands for a similar measure in Tuscany.

Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies had died in 1825, and was succeeded by Francis I. At the latter's death in 1830 Ferdinand II. succeeded, and although at first he gave promise of proving a wiser ruler, he soon reverted to the traditional Bourbon methods. An ignorant bigot, he concentrated the whole of the executive into his own hands, was surrounded by priests and monks, and served by an army of spies. In 1847 there were unimportant disturbances in various parts of the kingdom, but there was no anti-dynastic outbreak, the jealousy between Naples and Sicily largely contributing to the weakness of the movement. On the 12th of January, however, a revolution, the first of the many throughout Europe that was to make the year 1848 memorable, broke out at Palermo under the leadership of Ruggiero Settimo. The Neapolitan army sent to crush the rising was at first unsuccessful, and the insurgents demanded the constitution of 1812 or complete independence. Disturbances occurred at Naples also, and the king, who could not obtain Austrian help, as the pope refused to allow Austrian troops to pass through his dominions, on the advice of his prime minister, the duke of Serracapriola, granted a constitution, freedom of the press, the national guard, &c. (January 28).

CHAPTER III

REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

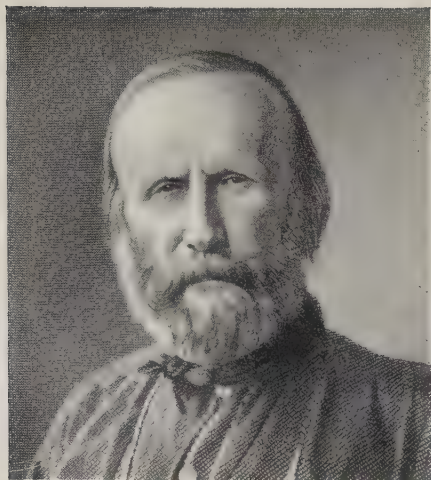
THE news from Naples strengthened the demand for a constitution in Piedmont. Count Camillo Cavour, then editor of a new and influential paper called *Il Risorgimento*, had advocated it strongly, and monster demonstrations were held every day. The king disliked the idea, but great pressure was brought to bear on him, and finally, on the 4th of March 1848, he granted the charter which was destined to be the constitution of the future Italian kingdom. It provided for a nominated senate and an elective chamber of deputies, the king retaining the right of veto; the press censorship was abolished, and freedom of meeting, of the press and of speech were guaranteed. Balbo was called upon to form the first constitutional ministry. Three days later the grand-duke of Tuscany promised similar liberties, and a charter, prepared by a commission which included Gino Capponi and Bettino Ricasoli, was promulgated on the 17th.

In the Austrian provinces the situation seemed calmer, and the government rejected the moderate proposals of Daniele Manin and N. Tommaseo. A demonstration in favour of Pius IX. on the 3rd of January at Milan was dispersed with unnecessary severity, and martial law was proclaimed the following month. The revolution which broke out on the 8th of March in Vienna itself and the subsequent flight of Metternich led to the granting of feeble concessions to Lombardy and Venetia, which were announced in Milan on the 18th. But it was too late; and in spite of the exhortations of the mayor, Gabrio Casati, and of the republican C. Cattaneo, who believed that a rising against 15,000 Austrian soldiers under Field-Marshal Radetzky was madness, the famous Five Days' revolution began. It was a popular outburst of pent-up hate, unprepared by leaders, although leaders such as Luciano Manara soon arose. Radetzky occupied the citadel and other points of vantage; but in the night barricades sprang up by the hundred and were manned by citizens of all classes, armed with every kind of weapon. The desperate struggle lasted until the 22nd, when the Austrians, having lost 5000 killed and wounded, were forced to evacuate the city. The rest of Lombardy and Venetia now flew to arms, and the Austrian garrisons, except in the Quadrilateral (Verona, Peschiera, Mantua and Legnano) were expelled. In Venice the people, under the leadership of Manin, rose in arms and forced the military and civil governors (Counts Zichy and Palffy) to sign a capitulation on the 22nd of March, after which the republic was proclaimed. At Milan, where there was a division of opinion between the monarchists under Casati and the republicans under Cattaneo, a provisional administration was formed and the question of the form of government postponed for the moment. The duke of Modena and Charles Louis of Parma (Marie Louise was now dead) abandoned their capitals; in both cities provisional governments were set up which subsequently proclaimed annexation to Piedmont. In Rome the pope gave way to popular clamour, granting one concession after another, and on the 8th of February he publicly called down God's blessing on Italy—that Italy hated by the Austrians, whose name it had hitherto been a crime to mention. On the 10th of March he appointed a new ministry, under Cardinal Antonelli, which included several Liberal laymen, such as Marco Minghetti, G. Pasolini, L. C. Farini and Count G. Recchi. On the 11th a constitution drawn up by a commission of cardinals, without the knowledge of the ministry, was promulgated, a constitution which attempted the impossible task of reconciling the pope's temporal power with free institutions. In the meanwhile preparations for war against Austria were being carried on with Pius's sanction.

There were now three main political tendencies, viz. the union of north Italy under

Charles Albert and an alliance with the pope and Naples, a federation of the different states under their present rulers, and a united republic for all Italy. All parties, however, were agreed in favour of war against Austria, for which the peoples forced their unwilling rulers to prepare. But the only state capable of taking the initiative was Piedmont, and the king still hesitated. Then came the news of the Five Days of Milan, which produced the wildest excitement in Turin; unless the army were sent to assist the struggling Lombards at once the dynasty was in jeopardy. Cavour's stirring articles in the *Risorgimento* hastened the king's decision, and on the 23rd of March he declared war. But much precious time had been lost, and even then the army was not ready. Charles Albert could dispose of 90,000 men, including some 30,000 from central Italy, but he took the field with only half his force. He might yet have cut off Radetzky on his retreat, or captured Mantua, which was only held by 300 men. But his delays lost him both chances and enabled Radetzky to receive reinforcements from Austria. The pope, unable to resist the popular demand for war, allowed his army to depart (March 23) under the command of General Durando, with instructions to act in concert with Charles Albert, and he corresponded with the grand-duke of Tuscany and the king of Naples with a view to a military alliance. But at the same time, fearing a schism in the church should he attack Catholic Austria, he forbade his troops to do more than defend the frontier, and in his Encyclical of the 29th of April stated that, as head of the church, he could not declare war, but that he was unable to prevent his subjects from following the example of other Italians. He then requested Charles Albert to take the papal troops under his command, and also wrote to the emperor of Austria asking him voluntarily to relinquish Lombardy and Venetia. Tuscany and Naples had both joined the Italian league; a Tuscan army started for Lombardy on the 30th of April, and 17,000 Neapolitans commanded by Pepe (who had returned after 28 years of exile) went to assist Durando in intercepting the Austrian reinforcements under Nugent. The Piedmontese defeated the enemy at Pastrengo (April 30), but did not profit by the victory. The Neapolitans reached Bologna on the 17th of May, but in the meantime a dispute had broken out at Naples between the king and parliament as to the nature of the royal oath; a cry of treason was raised by a group of factious youngsters, barricades were erected and street fighting ensued (May 15). On the 17th Ferdinand dissolved parliament and recalled the army. On receiving the order to return, Pepe, after hesitating for some time between his oath to the king and his desire to fight for Italy, finally resigned his commission and crossed the Po with a few thousand men, the rest of his force returning south. The effects of this were soon felt. A force of Tuscan volunteers was attacked by a superior body of Austrians at Curtatone and Montanaro and defeated after a gallant resistance on the 27th of May; Charles Albert, after wasting precious time round Peschiera, which capitulated on the 30th of May, defeated Radetzky at Goito. But the withdrawal of the Neapolitans left Durando too weak to intercept Nugent and his 30,000 men; and the latter, although harassed by the inhabitants of Venetia and repulsed at Vicenza, succeeded in joining Radetzky, who was soon further reinforced from Tirol. The whole Austrian army now turned on Vicenza, which after a brave resistance surrendered on the 10th of June. All Venetia except the capital was thus once more occupied by the Austrians. On the 23rd, 24th and 25th of July (first battle of Custoza) the Piedmontese were defeated and forced to retire on Milan with Radetzky's superior force in pursuit. The king was the object of a hostile demonstration in Milan, and although he was ready to defend the city to the last, the town council negotiated a capitulation with Radetzky. The mob, egged on by the republicans, attacked the palace where the king was lodged, and he escaped with difficulty, returning to Piedmont with the remnants of his army. On the 6th of August Radetzky re-entered Milan, and three days later an armistice was concluded between Austria and Piedmont, the latter agreeing to evacuate Lombardy and Venetia. The offer of French assistance, made after the proclamation of the republic in the spring of 1848, had been rejected mainly because France, fearing that the creation of a strong Italian state would be a danger to her, would have demanded the cession of Nice and Savoy, which the king refused to consider.

Meanwhile, the republic had been proclaimed in Venice; but on the 7th of July the assembly declared in favour of fusion with Piedmont, and Manin, who had been elected president, resigned his powers to the royal commissioners. Soon after Custoza, however, the Austrians blockaded the city on the land side. In Rome the pope's authority weakened day by day, and disorder increased. The Austrian attempt to occupy Bologna was repulsed by the citizens, but unfortunately this success was followed by anarchy and murder, and Farini only with difficulty restored a semblance of order. The Mamiani ministry having failed to achieve anything, Pius summoned Pellegrino Rossi, a learned lawyer who had long been exiled in France, to form a cabinet. On the 15th of November he was assassinated, and as no one was punished for this crime the insolence of the disorderly elements increased, and shots were exchanged with the Swiss Guard. The terrified pope fled in disguise to Gaeta (November 25), and when parliament requested him to return he refused even to receive the deputation. This meant a complete rupture; on the 5th of February 1849 a constituent assembly was summoned, and on the 9th it voted the downfall of the temporal power and proclaimed the republic. Mazzini hurried to Rome to see his dream



GARIBALDI.

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI, the picturesque, red-shirted Italian revolutionary, who rallied to the cry of *Italia Irredenta* all the patriotic spirits of his country. The defender of the Roman Republic of 1848, the deliverer of Sicily and Naples, the conqueror of Austria in 1866, he sheathed his sword only when Victor Emmanuel was seated on the throne of Italy in the ancient city of the Popes.



CAMILLO CAVOUR.

CAMILLO BENSO, COUNT CAVOUR, one of the makers of modern Italy, born 1810, died 1861, the greatest figure amongst the statesmen of the Italian Risorgimento. Journalist, parliamentarian and prime minister, he presided for nearly ten years over the fortunes of his country.



VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

VICTOR EMMANUEL II., King of Sardinia and first king of united Italy, born 1820, succeeded to Sardinia 1849, proclaimed King of Italy 1861, entered the Eternal City at the head of the Italian army July 2nd, 1871. "Il Re Galantuomo" his people called him and they loved him for his sportsmanlike and soldierly qualities



realized, and was chosen head of the triumvirate. On the 18th Pius invited the armed intervention of France, Austria, Naples and Spain to restore his authority. In Tuscany the government drifted from the moderates to the extreme democrats; the Ridolfi ministry was succeeded after Custozza by that of Ricasoli, and the latter by that of Capponi. The lower classes provoked disorders, which were very serious at Leghorn, and were only quelled by Guerrazzi's energy. Capponi resigned in October 1848, and Leopold reluctantly consented to a democratic ministry led by Guerrazzi and Montanelli, the former a very ambitious and unscrupulous man, the latter honest but fantastic. Following the Roman example, a constituent assembly was demanded to vote on union with Rome and eventually with the rest of Italy. The grand-duke, fearing an excommunication from the pope, refused the request, and left Florence for Siena and S. Stefano; on the 8th of February 1849 the republic was proclaimed, and on the 21st, at the pressing request of the pope and the king of Naples, Leopold went to Gaeta.

Ferdinand did not openly break his constitutional promises until Sicily was reconquered. His troops had captured Messina after a bombardment which earned him the sobriquet of "King Bomba"; Catania and Syracuse fell soon after, hideous atrocities being everywhere committed with his sanction. He now prorogued parliament, adopted stringent measures against the Liberals, and retired to Gaeta, the haven of refuge for deposed despots.

But so long as Piedmont was not completely crushed none of the princes dared to take decisive measures against their subjects; in spite of Custozza, Charles Albert still had an army, and Austria, with revolutions in Vienna, Hungary and Bohemia on her hands, could not intervene. In Piedmont the Pinelli-Revel ministry, which had continued the negotiations for an alliance with Leopold and the pope, resigned as it could not count on a parliamentary majority, and in December the returned exile Gioberti formed a new ministry. His proposal to reinstate Leopold and the pope with Piedmontese arms, so as to avoid Austrian intervention, was rejected by both potentates, and met with opposition even in Piedmont, which would thereby have forfeited its prestige throughout Italy. Austrian mediation was now imminent, as the Vienna revolution had been crushed, and the new emperor, Francis Joseph, refused to consider any settlement other than on the basis of the treaties of 1815. But Charles Albert, who, whatever his faults, had a generous nature, was determined that so long as he had an army in being he could not abandon the Lombards and the Venetians, whom he had encouraged in their resistance, without one more effort, though he knew full well that he was staking all on a desperate chance. On the 12th of March 1849, he denounced the armistice, and, owing to the want of confidence in Piedmontese strategy after 1848, gave the chief command to the Polish General Chrzanowski. His forces amounted to 80,000 men, including a Lombard corps and some Roman, Tuscan and other volunteers. But the discipline and moral of the army were shaken and its organization faulty. General Ramorino, disobeying his instructions, failed to prevent a corps of Austrians under Lieut. Field-Marshal d'Aspre from seizing Mortara, a fault for which he was afterwards court-martialled and shot, and after some preliminary fighting Radetzky won the decisive battle of Novara (March 23) which broke up the Piedmontese army. The king, who had sought death in vain all day, had to ask terms of Radetzky; the latter demanded a slice of Piedmont and the heir to the throne (Victor Emmanuel) as a hostage, without a reservation for the consent of parliament. Charles Albert, realizing his own failure and thinking that his son might obtain better terms, abdicated and departed at once for Portugal, where he died in a monastery a few months later. Victor Emmanuel went in person to treat with Radetzky on the 24th of March. The Field-Marshal received him most courteously and offered not only to waive the demand for a part of Piedmontese territory, but to enlarge the kingdom, on condition that the constitution should be abolished and the blue Piedmontese flag substituted for the tricolour. But the young king was determined to abide by his father's oath, and had therefore to agree to an Austrian occupation of the territory between the Po, the Ticino and the Sesia, and of half the citadel of Alessandria, until peace should be concluded, the evacuation of all districts occupied by his troops outside Piedmont, the dissolution of his corps of Lombard, Polish and Hungarian volunteers and the withdrawal of his fleet from the Adriatic.

Novara set Austria free to reinstate the Italian despots. Ferdinand at once re-established autocracy in Naples; though the struggle in Sicily did not end until May, when Palermo, after a splendid resistance, capitulated. In Tuscany disorder continued, and although Guerrazzi, who had been appointed dictator, saved the country from complete anarchy, a large part of the population, especially among the peasantry, was still loyal to the grand-duke. After Novara the chief question was how to avoid an Austrian occupation, and owing to the prevailing confusion the town council of Florence took matters into its own hands and declared the grand-duke reinstated, but on a constitutional basis and without foreign help (April 12). Leopold accepted as regards the constitution, but said nothing about foreign intervention. Count Seristori, the grand-ducal commissioner, arrived in Florence on the 4th of May 1849; the national guard was disbanded; and on the 25th, the Austrians under d'Aspre entered Florence.

On the 28th of July Leopold returned to his capital, and while that event was welcomed by a part of the people, the fact that he had come under Austrian protection ended by

destroying all loyalty to the dynasty, and consequently contributed not a little to Italian unity.

In Rome the triumvirate decided to defend the republic to the last. The city was quieter and more orderly than it had ever been before, for Mazzini and Ciceruacchio successfully opposed all class warfare; and in April the defenders received a priceless addition to their strength in the person of Garibaldi, who, on the outbreak of the revolution in 1848, had returned with a few of his followers from his exile in South America, and in April 1849 entered Rome with some 500 men to fight for the republic. At this time France, as a counterpoise to Austrian intervention in other parts of Italy, decided to restore the pope, regardless of the fact that this action would necessitate the crushing of a sister republic. As yet, however, no such intention was publicly avowed. On the 25th of April General Oudinot landed with 8000 men at Civitavecchia, and on the 30th attempted to capture Rome by surprise, but was completely defeated by Garibaldi, who might have driven the French into the sea, had Mazzini allowed him to leave the city. The French republican government, in order to gain time for reinforcements to arrive, sent Ferdinand de Lesseps to pretend to treat with Mazzini, the envoy himself not being a party to this deception. Mazzini refused to allow the French into the city, but while the negotiations were being dragged on Oudinot's force was increased to 35,000 men. At the same time an Austrian army was marching through the Legations, and Neapolitan and Spanish troops were advancing from the south. The Roman army (20,000 men) was commanded by General Rosselli, and included, besides Garibaldi's red-shirted legionaries, volunteers from all parts of Italy, mostly very young men, many of them wealthy and of noble family. The Neapolitans were ignominiously beaten in May and retired to the frontier; on the 1st of June Oudinot declared that he would attack Rome on the 4th, but by beginning operations on the 3rd, when no attack was expected, he captured an important position in the Pamphili gardens.

In spite of this success, however, it was not until the end of the month, and after desperate fighting, that the French penetrated within the walls and the defence ceased (June 29). The Assembly, which had continued in session, was dispersed by the French troops on the 2nd of July, but Mazzini escaped a week later. Garibaldi quitted the city, followed by 4000 of his men, and attempted to join the defenders of Venice. In spite of the fact that he was pursued by the armies of four Powers, he succeeded in reaching San Marino; but his force melted away and, after hiding in the marshes of Ravenna, he fled across the peninsula, assisted by nobles, peasants and priests, to the Tuscan coast, whence he reached Piedmont and eventually America, to await a new call to fight for Italy.

After a heroic defence, conducted by Giuseppe Martinengo, Brescia was recaptured in April by the Austrians under Lieut. Field-Marshal von Haynau, the atrocities which followed earning for Haynau the name of "The Hyena of Brescia." In May they seized Bologna, and Ancona in June, restoring order in those towns by the same methods as at Brescia. Venice alone still held out; after Novara the Piedmontese commissioners withdrew and Manin again took charge of the government. The assembly voted: "Venice resists the Austrians at all costs," and the citizens and soldiers, strengthened by the arrival of volunteers from all parts of Italy, including Pepe, who was given the chief command of the defenders, showed the most splendid devotion in their hopeless task. By the end of May the city was blockaded by land and sea, and in July the bombardment began. On the 24th the city, reduced by famine, capitulated on favourable terms. Manin, Pepe and a few others were excluded from the amnesty and went into exile.

Thus were despotism and foreign predominance re-established throughout Italy save in Piedmont. Yet the "terrible year" was by no means all loss. The Italian cause had been crushed, but revolution and war had strengthened the feeling of unity, for Neapolitans had fought for Venice, Lombards for Rome, Piedmontese for all Italy. Piedmont was shown to possess the qualities necessary to constitute the nucleus of a great nation. It was now evident that the federal idea was impossible, for none of the princes except Victor Emmanuel could be trusted, and that unity and freedom could not be achieved under a republic, for nothing could be done without the Piedmontese army, which was royalist to the core. All reasonable men were now convinced that the question of the ultimate form of the Italian government was secondary, and that the national efforts should be concentrated on the task of expelling the Austrians; the form of government could be decided afterwards. Liberals were by no means inclined to despair of accomplishing this task; for hatred of the foreigners, and of the despots restored by their bayonets, had been deepened by the humiliations and cruelties suffered during the war into a passion common to all Italy.

When the terms of the Austro-Piedmontese armistice were announced in the Chamber at Turin they aroused great indignation, but the king succeeded in convincing the deputies that they were inevitable. The peace negotiations dragged on for several months, involving two changes of ministry, and D'Azeglio became premier. Through Anglo-French mediation Piedmont's war indemnity was reduced from 230,000,000 to 75,000,000 lire, but the question of the amnesty remained. The king declared himself ready to go to war again if those compromised in the Lombard revolution were not freely pardoned, and at last Austria agreed to amnesty all save a very few, and in August the peace terms were agreed upon.

The Chamber, however, refused to ratify them, and it was not until the king's eloquent appeal from Moncalieri to his people's loyalty, and after a dissolution and the election of a new parliament, that the treaty was ratified (January 9, 1850). The situation in Piedmont was far from promising, the exchequer was empty, the army disorganized, the country despondent and suspicious of the king. If Piedmont was to be fitted for the part which optimists expected it to play, everything must be built up anew. Legislation had to be entirely reformed, and the bill for abolishing the special jurisdiction for the clergy (*foro ecclesiastico*) and other medieval privileges aroused the bitter opposition of the Vatican as well as of the Piedmontese clericals. This same year (1850) Cavour, who had been in parliament for some time and had in his speech of the 7th of March struck the first note of encouragement after the gloom of Novara, became minister of agriculture, and in 1851 also assumed the portfolio of finance. He ended by dominating the cabinet, but owing to his having negotiated a union of the Right Centre and the Left Centre (the *Connubio*) in the conviction that the country needed the moderate elements of both parties, he quarrelled with D'Azeglio (who, as an uncompromising conservative, failed to see the value of such a move) and resigned. But D'Azeglio was not equal to the situation, and he, too, resigned in November 1852; whereupon the king appointed Cavour prime minister, a position which with short intervals he held until his death.

The Austrians in the period from 1849 to 1859, known as the *decennio della resistenza* (decade of resistance), were made to feel that they were in a conquered country where they could have no social intercourse with the people; for no self-respecting Lombard or Venetian would even speak to an Austrian. Austria, on the other hand, treated her Italian subjects with great severity. The Italian provinces were the most heavily taxed in the whole empire, and much of the money thus levied was spent either for the benefit of other provinces or to pay for the huge army of occupation and the fortresses in Italy. The promise of a constitution for the empire, made in 1849, was never carried out; the government of Lombardo-Venetia was vested in Field-Marshal Radetzky; and although only very few of the revolutionists were excluded from the amnesty, the carrying of arms or the distribution or possession of revolutionary literature was punished with death. Long terms of imprisonment and the bastinado, the latter even inflicted on women, were the penalties for the least expression of anti-Austrian opinion.

The Lombard republicans had been greatly weakened by the events of 1848, but Mazzini still believed that a bold act by a few revolutionists would make the people rise *en masse* and expel the Austrians. A conspiracy, planned with the object, among others, of kidnapping the emperor while on a visit to Venice and forcing him to make concessions, was postponed in consequence of the *coup d'état* by which Louis Napoleon became emperor of the French (1852); but a chance discovery led to a large number of arrests, and the state trials at Mantua, conducted in the most shamelessly inquisitorial manner, resulted in five death sentences, including that of the priest Tazzoli, and many of imprisonment for long terms. Even this did not convince Mazzini of the hopelessness of such attempts, for he was out of touch with Italian public opinion, and he greatly weakened his influence by favouring a crack-brained outbreak at Milan on the 6th of February 1853, which was easily quelled, numbers of the insurgents being executed or imprisoned. Radetzky, not satisfied with this, laid an embargo on the property of many Lombard emigrants who had settled in Piedmont and become naturalized, accusing them of complicity. The Piedmontese government rightly regarded this measure as a violation of the peace treaty of 1850, and Cavour recalled the Piedmontese minister from Vienna, an action which was endorsed by Italian public opinion generally, and won the approval of France and England.

Cavour's ideal for the present was the expulsion of Austria from Italy and the expansion of Piedmont into a north Italian kingdom; and, although he did not yet think of Italian unity as a question of practical policy, he began to foresee it as a future possibility. But in reorganizing the shattered finances of the state and preparing it for its greater destinies, he had to impose heavy taxes, which led to rioting and involved the minister himself in considerable though temporary unpopularity. His ecclesiastical legislation, too, met with bitter opposition from the Church.

But the question was soon forgotten in the turmoil caused by the Crimean War. Cavour believed that by taking part in the war his country would gain for itself a military status and a place in the councils of the great Powers, and establish claims on Great Britain and France for the realization of its Italian ambitions. One section of public opinion desired to make Piedmont's co-operation subject to definite promises by the Powers; but the latter refused to bind themselves, and both Victor Emmanuel and Cavour realized that, even without such promises, participation would give Piedmont a claim. There was also the danger that Austria might join the allies first and Piedmont be left isolated; but there were also strong arguments on the other side, for while the Radical party saw no obvious reason why Piedmont should fight other people's battles, and therefore opposed the alliance, there was the risk that Austria might join the alliance together with Piedmont, which would have constituted a disastrous situation. Da Bormida, the minister for foreign affairs, resigned rather than agree to the proposal, and other statesmen were equally opposed to it. But after long negotiations the treaty of alliance was signed in January 1855, and while Austria

remained neutral, a well-equipped Piedmontese force of 15,000 men, under General La Marmora, sailed for the Crimea. Everything turned out as Cavour had hoped. The Piedmontese troops distinguished themselves in the field, gaining the sympathies of the French and English; and at the subsequent congress of Paris (1856), where Cavour himself was Sardinian representative, the Italian question was discussed, and the intolerable oppression of the Italian peoples by Austria and the despots ventilated.

Austria at last began to see that a policy of coercion was useless and dangerous, and made tentative efforts at conciliation. Taxation was somewhat reduced, the censorship was made less severe, political amnesties were granted, humaner officials were appointed and the Congregations (a sort of shadowy consultative assembly) were revived. In 1856 the emperor and empress visited their Italian dominions, but were received with icy coldness; the following year, on the retirement of Radetzky at the age of ninety-three, the archduke Maximilian, an able, cultivated and kind-hearted man, was appointed viceroy. He made desperate efforts to conciliate the population, and succeeded with a few of the nobles, who were led to believe in the possibility of an Italian confederation, including Lombardy and Venetia which would be united to Austria by a personal union alone; but the immense majority of all classes rejected these advances and came to regard union with Piedmont with increasing favour.¹

Meanwhile Francis V. of Modena, restored to his duchy by Austrian bayonets, continued to govern according to the traditions of his house. Charles II. of Parma, after having been reinstated by the Austrians, abdicated in favour of his son Charles III, a drunken libertine and a cruel tyrant (May 1849); the latter was assassinated in 1854, and a regency under his widow, Marie Louise, was instituted during which the government became somewhat more tolerable, although by no means free from political persecution; in 1857 the Austrian troops evacuated the duchy. Leopold of Tuscany suspended the constitution, and in 1852 formally abolished it by order from Vienna; he also concluded a treaty of semi-subjection with Austria and a Concordat with the pope for granting fresh privileges to the Church. His government, however, was not characterized by cruelty like those of his brother despots, and Guerrazzi and the other Liberals of 1849, although tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, were merely exiled. Yet the opposition gained recruits among all the ablest and most respectable Tuscans. In Rome, after the restoration of the temporal power by the French troops, the pope paid no attention to Louis Napoleon's advice to maintain some form of constitution, to grant a general amnesty, and to secularize the administration. He promised, indeed, a consultative council of state, and granted an amnesty from which no less than 25,000 persons were excluded; but on his return to Rome (12th April 1850), after he was quite certain that France had given up all idea of imposing constitutional limitations on him, he re-established his government on the old lines of priestly absolutism, and, devoting himself to religious practices, left political affairs mostly to the astute cardinal Antonelli, who repressed with great severity the political agitation which still continued. At Naples a trifling disturbance in September 1849, led to the arrest of a large number of persons connected with the *Unità Italiana*, a society somewhat similar to the Carbonari. The prisoners included Silvio Spaventa, Luigi Settembrini, Carlo Poerio and many other cultured and worthy citizens. Many condemnations followed, and hundreds of "politicals" were immured in hideous dungeons, a state of things which provoked Gladstone's famous letters to Lord Aberdeen, in which Bourbon rule was branded for all time as "the negation of God erected into a system of government." But oppressive, corrupt and inefficient as it was, the government was not confronted by the uncompromising hostility of the whole people; the ignorant priest-ridden masses were either indifferent or of mildly Bourbon sympathies; the opposition was constituted by the educated middle classes and a part of the nobility. The revolutionary attempts of Bentivegna in Sicily (1856) and of the Mazzinian Carlo Pisacane, who landed at Sapri in Calabria with a few followers in 1857, failed from lack of popular support, and the leaders were killed.

¹ The popular cry of "Viva Verdi!" did not merely express enthusiasm for Italy's most eminent musician, but signified, in initials: "Viva Vittorio Emanuele Re d' Italia!"

CHAPTER IV

NAPOLEON III AND ITALY

THE decline of Mazzini's influence was accompanied by the rise of a new movement in favour of Italian unity under Victor Emmanuel, inspired by the Milanese marquis Giorgio Pallavicini, who had spent 14 years in the Spielberg, and by Manin, living in exile in Paris, both of them ex-republicans who had become monarchists. The propaganda was organized by the Sicilian La Farina by means of the *Società Nazionale*. All who accepted the motto "Unity, Independence and Victor Emmanuel" were admitted into the society. Many of the republicans and Mazzinians joined it, but Mazzini himself regarded it with no sympathy. In the Austrian provinces and in the duchies it carried all before it, and gained many adherents in the Legations, Rome and Naples, although in the latter regions the autonomist feeling was still strong even among the Liberals. In Piedmont itself it was at first less successful; and Cavour, although he aspired ultimately to a united Italy with Rome as the capital, openly professed no ambition beyond the expulsion of Austria and the formation of a North Italian kingdom. But he gave secret encouragement to the movement, and ended by practically directing its activity through La Farina. The king, too, was in close sympathy with the society's aims, but for the present it was necessary to hide this attitude from the eyes of the Powers, whose sympathy Cavour could only hope to gain by professing hostility to everything that savoured of revolution. Both the king and his minister realized that Piedmont alone, even with the help of the National Society, could not expel Austria from Italy without foreign assistance. Piedmontese finances had been strained to breaking-point to organize an army obviously intended for other than merely defensive purposes. Cavour now set himself to the task of isolating Austria and securing an alliance for her expulsion. A British alliance would have been preferable, but the British government was too much concerned with the preservation of European peace. The emperor Napoleon, almost alone among Frenchmen, had genuine Italian sympathies. But were he to intervene in Italy, the intervention would not only have to be successful; it would have to bring tangible advantages to France. Hence his hesitations and vacillations, which Cavour steadily worked to overcome. Suddenly on the 14th of January 1858 Napoleon's life was attempted by Felice Orsini, a Mazzinian Romagnol, who believed that Napoleon was the chief obstacle to the success of the revolution in Italy. The attempt failed and its author was caught and executed, but while it appeared at first to destroy Napoleon's Italian sympathies and led to a sharp interchange of notes between Paris and Turin, the emperor was really impressed by the attempt and by Orsini's letter from prison exhorting him to intervene in Italy. He realized how deep the Italian feeling for independence must be, and that a refusal to act now might result in further attempts on his life, as indeed Orsini's letter stated. Consequently negotiations with Cavour were resumed, and a meeting with him was arranged to take place at Plombières (20th and 21st of July 1858). There it was agreed that France should supply 200,000 men and Piedmont 100,000 for the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, that Piedmont should be expanded into a kingdom of North Italy, that central Italy should form a separate kingdom, on the throne of which the emperor contemplated placing one of his own relatives, and Naples another, possibly under Lucien Murat; the pope, while retaining only the "Patrimony of St Peter" (the Roman province), would be president of the Italian confederation. In exchange for French assistance Piedmont would cede Savoy and perhaps Nice to France; and a marriage between Victor Emmanuel's daughter Clothilde and Jerome Bonaparte, to

which Napoleon attached great importance, although not made a definite condition, was also discussed. No written agreement, however, was signed.

On the 1st of January 1859, Napoleon astounded the diplomatic world by remarking to Baron Hübner, the Austrian ambassador, at the New Year's reception at the Tuileries, that he regretted that relations between France and Austria were "not so good as they had been"; and at the opening of the Piedmontese parliament on the 10th Victor Emmanuel pronounced the memorable words that he could not be insensible to the cry of pain (*il grido di dolore*) which reached him from all parts of Italy. Yet after these warlike declarations and after the signing of a military convention at Turin, the king agreeing to all the conditions proposed by Napoleon, the latter suddenly became pacific again, and adopted the Russian suggestion that Italian affairs should be settled by a congress. Austria agreed on condition that Piedmont should disarm and should not be admitted to the congress. Lord Malmesbury urged the Sardinian government to yield; but Cavour refused to disarm, or to accept the principle of a congress, unless Piedmont were admitted to it on equal terms with the other Powers. As neither the Sardinian nor the Austrian government seemed disposed to yield, the idea of a congress had to be abandoned. Lord Malmesbury now proposed that all three Powers should disarm simultaneously and that, as suggested by Austria, the precedent of Laibach should be followed and all the Italian states invited to plead their cause at the bar of the Great Powers. To this course Napoleon consented, to the despair of King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, who saw in this a proof that he wished to back out of his engagement and make war impossible. When war seemed imminent volunteers from all parts of Italy, especially from Lombardy, had come pouring into Piedmont to enrol themselves in the army or in the specially raised volunteer corps (the command of which was given to Garibaldi), and "to go to Piedmont" became a test of patriotism throughout the country. Urged by a peremptory message from Napoleon, Cavour saw the necessity of bowing to the will of Europe, of disbanding the volunteers and reducing the army to a peace footing. The situation, however, was saved by a false move on the part of Austria. At Vienna the war party was in the ascendant; the convention for disarmament had been signed, but so far from its being carried out, the reserves were actually called out on the 12th of April; and on the 23rd, before Cavour's decision was known at Vienna, an Austrian ultimatum reached Turin, summoning Piedmont to disarm within three days on pain of invasion. Cavour was filled with joy at the turn affairs had taken, for Austria now appeared as the aggressor. On the 29th Francis Joseph declared war, and the next day his troops crossed the Ticino, a move which was followed, as Napoleon had stated it would be, by a French declaration of war. The actions of Montebello (May 20), Palestro (May 31) and Melegnano (June 8) and the battles of Magenta (June 4) and Solferino (June 24) all went against the Austrians. Garibaldi's volunteers raised the standard of insurrection and held the field in the region of the Italian lakes. After Solferino the allies prepared to besiege the Quadrilateral. Then Napoleon suddenly drew back, unwilling, for many reasons, to continue the campaign. Firstly, he doubted whether the allies were strong enough to attack the Quadrilateral, for he saw the defects of his own army's organization; secondly, he began to fear intervention by Prussia, whose attitude appeared menacing; thirdly, although really anxious to expel the Austrians from Italy, he did not wish to create a too powerful Italian state at the foot of the Alps, which, besides constituting a potential danger to France, might threaten the pope's temporal power, and Napoleon believed that he could not stand without the clerical vote; fourthly, the war had been declared against the wishes of the great majority of Frenchmen and was even now far from popular. Consequently, to the surprise of all Europe, while the allied forces were drawn up ready for battle, Napoleon, without consulting Victor Emmanuel, sent General Fleury on the 6th of July to Francis Joseph to ask for an armistice, which was agreed to. The king was now informed, and on the 8th Generals Vaillant, Della Rocca and Hess met at Villafranca and arranged an armistice until the 15th of August. But the king and Cavour were terribly upset by this move, which meant peace without Venetia; Cavour hurried to the king's headquarters at Monzambano and in excited, almost disrespectful, language implored him not to agree to peace and to continue the war alone, relying on the Piedmontese army and a general Italian revolution. But Victor Emmanuel on this occasion proved the greater statesman of the two; he understood that, hard as it was, he must content himself with Lombardy for the present, lest all be lost. On the 11th the two emperors met at Villafranca, where they agreed that Lombardy should be ceded to Piedmont, and Venetia retained by Austria but governed by Liberal methods; that the rulers of Tuscany, Parma and Modena, who had been again deposed, should be restored, the Papal States reformed, the Legations given a separate administration and the pope made president of an Italian confederation including Austria as mistress of Venetia. It was a revival of the old impossible federal idea, which would have left Italy divided and dominated by Austria and France. Victor Emmanuel regretfully signed the peace preliminaries, adding, however, *pour ce qui me concerne* (which meant that he made no undertaking with regard to central Italy), and Cavour resigned office.

The Lombard campaign had produced important effects throughout the rest of Italy. The Sardinian government had formally invited that of Tuscany to participate in the war

of liberation, and on the grand-duke rejecting the proposal, moderates and democrats combined to present an ultimatum to Leopold demanding that he should abdicate in favour of his son, grant a constitution and take part in the campaign. On his refusal Florence rose as one man, and he, feeling that he could not rely on his troops, abandoned Tuscany on the 27th of April 1859. A provisional government was formed, led by Ubaldo Peruzzi, and was strengthened on the 8th of May by the inclusion of Baron Bettino Ricasoli, a man of great force of character, who became the real head of the administration, and all through the ensuing critical period aimed unswervingly at Italian unity. Victor Emmanuel, at the request of the people, assumed the protectorate over Tuscany, where he was represented by the Sardinian minister Boncompagni. On the 23rd of May Prince Napoleon, with a French army corps, landed at Leghorn, his avowed object being to threaten the Austrian flank;¹ and in June these troops, together with a Tuscan contingent, departed for Lombardy. In the duchy of Modena an insurrection had broken out, and after Magenta Duke Francis joined the Austrian army in Lombardy, leaving a regency in charge. But on the 14th of June the municipality formed a provisional government and proclaimed annexation to Piedmont; L. C. Farini was chosen dictator, and 4000 Modenese joined the allies. The duchess-regent of Parma also withdrew to Austrian territory, and on the 11th of June annexation to Piedmont was proclaimed. At the same time the Austrians evacuated the Legations and Cardinal Milesi, the papal representative, departed. The municipality of Bologna formed a *Giunta*, to which Romagna and the Marches adhered, and invoked the dictatorship of Victor Emmanuel; at Perugia, too, a provisional government was constituted under F. Guardabassi. But the Marches were soon reoccupied by pontifical troops, and Perugia fell, its capture being followed by an indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children. In July the marquis d'Azeglio arrived at Bologna as royal commissioner.

After the meetings at Villafranca Napoleon returned to France. The question of the cession of Nice and Savoy had not been raised; for the emperor had not fulfilled his part of the bargain, that he would drive the Austrians out of Italy, since Venice was yet to be freed. At the same time he was resolutely opposed to the Piedmontese annexations in central Italy. But here Cavour intervened, for he was determined to maintain the annexations, at all costs. Although he had resigned, he remained in office until Rattazzi could form a new ministry; and while officially recalling the royal commissioners, according to the preliminaries of Villafranca, he privately encouraged them to remain and organize resistance to the return of the despots, if necessary by force. Farini, who in August was elected dictator of Parma as well as Modena, and Ricasoli, who since, on the withdrawal of the Sardinian commissioner Boncompagni, had become supreme in Tuscany, were now the men who by their energy and determination achieved the annexation of central Italy to Piedmont, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the French emperor and the weakness of many Italian Liberals. In August Marco Minghetti succeeded in forming a military league and a customs union between Tuscany, Romagna and the duchies, and in procuring the adoption of the Piedmontese codes; and envoys were sent to Paris to mollify Napoleon. Constituent assemblies met and voted for unity under Victor Emmanuel, but the king could not openly accept the proposal owing to the emperor's opposition, backed by the presence of French armies in Lombardy; at a word from Napoleon there might have been an Austrian, and perhaps a Franco-Austrian, invasion of central Italy. But to Napoleon's statement that he could not agree to the unification of Italy, as he was bound by his promises to Austria at Villafranca, Victor Emmanuel replied that he himself, after Magenta and Solferino, was bound in honour to link his fate with that of the Italian people; and General Manfredo Fanti was sent by the Turin government to organize the army of the Central League, with Garibaldi under him.

The terms of the treaty of peace signed at Zürich on the 10th of November were practically identical with those of the preliminaries of Villafranca. It was soon evident, however, that the Italian question was far from being settled. Central Italy refused to be bound by the treaty, and offered the dictatorship to Prince Carignano, who, himself unable to accept owing to Napoleon's opposition, suggested Boncompagni, who was accordingly elected. Napoleon now realized that it would be impossible, without running serious risks, to oppose the movement in favour of unity. He suggested an international congress on the question; inspired a pamphlet, *Le Pape et le Congrès*, which proposed a reduction of the papal territory, and wrote to the pope advising him to cede Romagna in order to obtain better guarantees for the rest of his dominions. The proposed congress fell through, and Napoleon thereupon raised the question of the cession of Nice and Savoy as the price of his consent to the union of the central provinces with the Italian kingdom. In January 1866 the Rattazzi ministry fell, after completing the fusion of Lombardy with Piedmont, and Cavour was again summoned by the king to the head of affairs.

Cavour well knew the unpopularity that would fall upon him by consenting to the cession of Nice, the birthplace of Garibaldi, and Savoy, the cradle of the royal house; but he realized the necessity of the sacrifice, if central Italy was to be won. The negotiations

In reality the emperor was contemplating an Etrurian kingdom with the prince at its head.

were long drawn out; for Cavour struggled to save Nice and Napoleon was anxious to make conditions, especially as regards Tuscany. At last, on the 24th of March, the treaty was signed whereby the cession was agreed upon, but subject to the vote of the populations concerned and ratification by the Italian parliament. The king having formally accepted the voluntary annexation of the duchies, Tuscany and Romagna, appointed the prince of Carignano viceroy with Ricasoli as governor-general (22nd of March), and was immediately afterwards excommunicated by the pope. On the 2nd of April 1860 the new Italian parliament, including members from central Italy, assembled at Turin. Three weeks later the treaty of Turin ceding Savoy and Nice to France was ratified, though not without much opposition, and Cavour was fiercely reviled for his share in the transaction, especially by Garibaldi, who even contemplated an expedition to Nice, but was induced to desist by the king.

CHAPTER V

GARIBALDI AND THE UNION OF ITALY

IN May 1859 Ferdinand of Naples was succeeded by his son Francis II., who gave no signs of any intention to change his father's policy, and, in spite of Napoleon's advice, refused to grant a constitution or to enter into an alliance with Sardinia. The result was a revolutionary agitation which in Sicily, stirred up by Mazzini's agents, Rosalino Pilo and Francesco Crispi, culminated, on the 5th of April 1860, in open revolt. An invitation had been sent Garibaldi to put himself at the head of the movement; at first he had refused, but reports of the progress of the insurrection soon determined him to risk all on a bold stroke, and on the 5th of May he embarked at Quarto, near Genoa, with Bixio, the Hungarian Türr and some 1000 picked followers, on two steamers. The preparations for the expedition, openly made, were viewed by Cavour with mixed feelings. With its object he sympathized; yet he could not give official sanction to an armed attack on a friendly power, nor on the other hand could he forbid an action enthusiastically approved by public opinion. He accordingly directed the Sardinian admiral Persano only to arrest the expedition should it touch at a Sardinian port; while in reply to the indignant protests of the continental powers he disclaimed all knowledge of the affair. On the 11th Garibaldi landed at Marsala, without opposition, defeated the Neapolitan forces at Calatafimi on the 15th, and on the 27th entered Palermo in triumph, where he proclaimed himself, in King Victor Emmanuel's name, dictator of Sicily. By the end of July, after the hard-won victory of Milazzo, the whole island, with the exception of the citadel of Messina and a few unimportant ports, was in his hands.

From Cavour's point of view, the situation was now one of extreme anxiety. It was certain that, his work in Sicily done, Garibaldi would turn his attention to the Neapolitan dominions on the mainland; and beyond these lay Umbria and the Marches and—Rome. It was all-important that whatever victories Garibaldi might win should be won for the Italian kingdom, and, above all, that no ill-timed attack on the Papal States should provoke an intervention of the powers. La Farina was accordingly sent to Palermo to urge the immediate annexation of Sicily to Piedmont. But Garibaldi, who wished to keep a free hand, distrusted Cavour and scorned all counsels of expediency, refused to agree; Sicily was the necessary base for his projected invasion of Naples; it would be time enough to announce its union with Piedmont when Victor Emmanuel had been proclaimed king of United Italy in Rome. Foiled by the dictator's stubbornness, Cavour had once more to take to underhand methods; and, while continuing futile negotiations with King Francis, sent his agents into Naples to stir up disaffection and create a sentiment in favour of national unity strong enough, in any event, to force Garibaldi's hand.

On the 8th of August, in spite of the protests and threats of most of the powers, the Garibaldians began to cross the Straits, and in a short time 20,000 of them were on the mainland. The Bourbonists in Calabria, utterly disorganized, broke before the invincible red-shirts, and the 40,000 men defending the Salerno-Avellino line made no better resistance, being eventually ordered to fall back on the Volturno. On the 6th of September King Francis, with his family and several of the ministers, sailed for Gaeta, and the next day Garibaldi entered Naples alone in advance of the army, and was enthusiastically welcomed. He proclaimed himself dictator of the kingdom, with Bertani as secretary of state, but as a proof of his loyalty he consigned the Neapolitan fleet to Persano.

His rapid success, meanwhile, inspired both the French emperor and the government of Turin with misgivings. There was a danger that Garibaldi's *entourage*, composed of ex-Mazzinians, might induce him to proclaim a republic and march on Rome; which would have meant French intervention and the undoing of all Cavour's work. King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour both wrote to Garibaldi urging him not to spoil all by aiming at too much. But Garibaldi poured scorn on all suggestions of compromise; and Cavour saw that the situation could only be saved by the armed participation of Piedmont in the liberation of south Italy.

The situation was, indeed, sufficiently critical. The unrest in Naples had spread into Umbria and the Marches, and the papal troops, under General Lamoricière, were preparing to suppress it. Had they succeeded, the position of the Piedmontese in Romagna would have been imperilled; had they failed, the road would have been open for Garibaldi to march on Rome. In the circumstances, Cavour decided that Piedmont must anticipate Garibaldi, occupy Umbria and the Marches and place Italy between the red-shirts and Rome. His excuse was the pope's refusal to dismiss his foreign levies (September 7). On the 11th of September a Piedmontese army of 35,000 men crossed the frontier at La Cattolica; on the 18th the pontifical army was crushed at Castelfidardo; and when, on the 29th, Ancona fell, Umbria and the Marches were in the power of Piedmont. On the 15th of October King Victor Emmanuel crossed the Neapolitan border at the head of his troops.

It had been a race between Garibaldi and the Piedmontese. "If we do not arrive at the Volturno before Garibaldi reaches La Cattolica," Cavour had said, "the monarchy is lost, and Italy will remain in the prison-house of the Revolution." Fortunately for his policy, the red-shirts had encountered a formidable obstacle to their advance in the Neapolitan army entrenched on the Volturno under the guns of Capua. On the 19th of September the Garibaldians began their attack on this position with their usual impetuous valour; but they were repulsed again and again, and it was not till the 2nd of October, after a two days' pitched battle, that they succeeded in carrying the position. The way was now open for the advance of the Piedmontese, who, save at Isernia, encountered practically no resistance. On the 29th Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi met, and on the 7th of November they entered Naples together. Garibaldi now resigned his authority into the king's hands and, refusing the title and other honours offered to him, retired to his island home of Caprera.¹

Gaeta remained still to be taken. The Piedmontese under Cialdini had begun the siege on the 5th of November, but it was not until the 10th of January 1861, when at the instance of Great Britain Napoleon withdrew his squadron, that the blockade could be made complete. On the 13th of February the fortress surrendered, Francis and his family having departed by sea for papal territory. The citadel of Messina capitulated on the 22nd, and Civitella del Tronto, the last stronghold of Bourbonism, on the 21st of March. On the 18th of February the first Italian parliament met at Turin, and Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king of Italy. The new kingdom was recognized by Great Britain within a fortnight, by France three months later, and subsequently by other powers. It included the whole peninsula except Venetia and Rome, and these the government and the nation were determined to annex sooner or later.

There were, however, other serious problems calling for immediate attention. The country had to be built up and converted from an agglomeration of scattered medieval principalities into a unified modern nation. The first question which arose was that of brigandage in the south. Brigandage had always existed in the Neapolitan kingdom, largely owing to the poverty of the people; but the evil was now aggravated by the mistake of the new government in dismissing the Bourbon troops, and then calling them out again as recruits. A great many turned brigands rather than serve again, and together with the remaining adherents of Bourbon rule and malefactors of all kinds, were made use of by the ex-king and his *entourage* to harass the Italian administration. Bands of desperadoes were formed, commanded by the most infamous criminals and by foreigners who came to fight in what they were led to believe was an Italian *Vendée*, but which was in reality a campaign of butchery and plunder. Villages were sacked and burnt, men, women and children mutilated, tortured or roasted alive, and women outraged. The authors of these deeds when pursued by troops fled into papal territory, where they were welcomed by the authorities and allowed to refit and raise fresh recruits under the aegis of the Church. The prime organizers of the movement were King Francis's uncle, the count of Trapani, and Mons. de Mérode, a Belgian ecclesiastic who enjoyed immense influence at the Vatican. The task of suppressing brigandage was entrusted to Generals La Marmora and Cialdini; but in spite of extreme severity, justifiable in the circumstances, it took four or five years completely to suppress the movement. Its vitality, indeed, was largely due to the mistakes made by the new administration, conducted as this was by officials ignorant of southern conditions and out of sympathy with a people far more primitive than in any other part of the peninsula. Politically, its sole outcome was to prove the impossibility of allowing the continuance of an independent Roman state in the heart of Italy.

¹ He asked for the Neapolitan viceroyalty for life, which the king very wisely refused.

Another of the government's difficulties was the question of what to do with Garibaldi's volunteers. Fanti, the minister of war, had three armies to incorporate in that of Piedmont, viz. that of central Italy, that of the Bourbons and that of Garibaldi. The first caused no difficulty; the rank and file of the second were mostly disbanded, but a number of the officers were taken into the Italian army; the third offered a more serious problem. Garibaldi demanded that all his officers should be given equivalent rank in the Italian army, and in this he had the support of Fanti. Cavour, on the other hand, while anxious to deal generously with the Garibaldians, recognized the impossibility of such a course, which would not only have offended the conservative spirit of the Piedmontese military caste, which disliked and despised irregular troops, but would almost certainly have introduced into the army an element of indiscipline and disorder.

On the 18th of April the question of the volunteers was discussed in one of the most dramatic sittings of the Italian parliament. Garibaldi, elected member for Naples, denounced Cavour in unmeasured terms for his treatment of the volunteers and for the cession of Nice, accusing him of leading the country to civil war. These charges produced a tremendous uproar, but Bixio by a splendid appeal for concord succeeded in calming the two adversaries. On the 23rd of April they were formally reconciled in the presence of the king, but the scene of the 18th of April hastened Cavour's end. In May the Roman question was discussed in parliament. Cavour had often declared that in the end the capital of Italy must be Rome, for it alone of all Italian cities had an unquestioned claim to moral supremacy, and his views of a free church in a free state were well known. He had negotiated secretly with the pope through unofficial agents, and sketched out a scheme of settlement of the Roman question, which foreshadowed in its main features the law of papal guarantees. But it was not given him to see this problem solved, for his health was broken by the strain of the last few years, during which practically the whole administration of the country was concentrated in his hands. He died after a short illness on the 6th of June 1861, at a moment when Italy had the greatest need of his statesmanship.

Ricasoli now became prime minister, Cavour having advised the king to that effect. The financial situation was far from brilliant, for the expenses of the administration of Italy were far larger than the total of those of all the separate states, and everything had to be created or rebuilt. The budget of 1861 showed a deficit of 344,000,000 lire, while the service of the debt was 110,000,000; deficits were met by new loans issued on unfavourable terms (that of July 1861 for 500,000,000 lire cost the government 714,833,000), and government stock fell as low as 36. It was now that the period of reckless finance began which, save for a lucid interval under Sella, was to last until nearly the end of the century. Considering the state of the country and the coming war for Venice, heavy expenditure was inevitable, but good management might have rendered the situation less dangerous. Ricasoli, honest and capable as he was, failed to win popularity; his attitude on the Roman question, which became more uncompromising after the failure of his attempt at conciliation, and his desire to emancipate Italy from French predominance, brought down on him the hostility of Napoleon. He fell in March 1862, and was succeeded by Rattazzi, who being more pliable and intriguing managed at first to please everybody, including Garibaldi. At this time the extremists and even the moderates were full of schemes for liberating Venice and Rome. Garibaldi had a plan, with which the premier was connected, for attacking Austria by raising a revolt in the Balkans and Hungary, and later he contemplated a raid into the Trentino; but the government, seeing the danger of such an attempt, arrested several Garibaldians at Sarnico (near Brescia), and in the *émeute* which followed several persons were shot. Garibaldi now became an opponent of the ministry, and in June went to Sicily, where, after taking counsel with his former followers, he decided on an immediate raid on Rome. He summoned his legionaries and in August crossed over to Calabria with 1000 men. His intentions in the main were still loyal, for he desired to capture Rome for the kingdom; and he did his best to avoid the regulars tardily sent against him. On the 29th of August 1862, however, he encountered a force under Pallavicini at Aspromonte, and, although Garibaldi ordered his men not to fire, some of the raw Sicilian volunteers discharged a few volleys which were returned by the regulars. Garibaldi himself was seriously wounded and taken prisoner. He was shut up in the fortress of Varignano, and after endless discussions as to whether he should be tried or not, the question was settled by an amnesty. The affair made the ministry so unpopular that it was forced to resign. Farini, who succeeded, retired almost at once on account of ill-health, and Minghetti became premier, with Visconti-Venosta as minister for foreign affairs. The financial situation continued to be seriously embarrassing; deficit was piled on deficit, loan upon loan, and the service of the debt rose from 90,000,000 lire in 1860 to 220,000,000 in 1864.

Negotiations were resumed with Napoleon for the evacuation of Rome by the French troops; but the emperor, though he saw that the temporal power could not for ever be supported by French bayonets, desired some guarantee that the evacuation should not be followed, at all events immediately, by an Italian occupation, lest Catholic opinion should lay the blame for this upon France. Ultimately the two governments concluded a convention on the 15th of September 1864, whereby France agreed to withdraw her troops from

Rome so soon as the papal army should be reorganized, or at the outside within two years, Italy undertaking not to attack it nor permit others to do so, and to transfer the capital from Turin to some other city within six months.¹ The change of capital would have the appearance of a definite abandonment of the *Roma capitale* programme, although in reality it was to be merely a *tappa* (stage) on the way. The convention was kept secret, but the last clause leaked out and caused the bitterest feeling among the people of Turin, who would have been resigned to losing the capital provided it were transferred to Rome, but resented the fact that it was to be established in any other city, and that the convention was made without consulting parliament. Demonstrations were held which were repressed with unnecessary violence, and although the change of capital was not unpopular in the rest of Italy, where the *Piemontesismo* of the new régime was beginning to arouse jealousy, the secrecy with which the affair was arranged and the shooting down of the people in Turin raised such a storm of disapproval that the king for the first time used his privilege of dismissing the ministry. Under La Marmora's administration the September convention was ratified, and the capital was transferred to Florence the following year. This affair resulted in an important political change, for the Piedmontese deputies, hitherto the bulwarks of moderate conservatism, now shifted to the Left or constitutional opposition.

Meanwhile, the Venetian question was becoming more and more acute. Every Italian felt the presence of the Austrians in the lagoons as a national humiliation, and between 1859 and 1866 countless plots were hatched for their expulsion. But, in spite of the sympathy of the king, the attempt to raise armed bands in Venetia had no success, and it became clear that the foreigner could only be driven from the peninsula by regular war. To wage this alone Italy was still too weak, and it was necessary to look round for an ally. Napoleon was sympathetic; he desired to see the Austrians expelled, and the Syllabus of Pius IX., which had stirred up the more aggressive elements among the French clergy against his government, had brought him once more into harmony with the views of Victor Emmanuel; but he dared not brave French public opinion by another war with Austria, nor did Italy desire an alliance which would only have been bought at the price of further cessions. There remained Prussia, which, now that the Danish campaign of 1864 was over, was completing her preparations for the final struggle with Austria for the hegemony of Germany; and Napoleon, who saw in the furthering of Bismarck's plans the surest means of securing his own influence in a divided Europe, willingly lent his aid in negotiating a Prusso-Italian alliance. In the summer of 1865 Bismarck made formal proposals to La Marmora; but the *pourparlers* were interrupted by the conclusion of the convention of Gastein (August 14), to which Austria agreed partly under pressure of the Prusso-Italian *entente*. To Italy the convention seemed like a betrayal; to Napoleon it was a set-back which he tried to retrieve by suggesting to Austria the peaceful cession of Venetia to the Italian kingdom, in order to prevent any danger of its alliance with Prussia. This proposal broke on the refusal of the emperor Francis Joseph to cede Austrian territory except as the result of a struggle; and Napoleon, won over by Bismarck at the famous interview at Biarritz, once more took up the idea of a Prusso-Italian offensive and defensive alliance. This was actually concluded on the 8th of April 1866. Its terms, dictated by a natural suspicion on the part of the Italian government, stipulated that it should only become effective in the event of Prussia declaring war on Austria within three months. Peace was not to be concluded until Italy should have received Venetia, and Prussia an equivalent territory in Germany.

The outbreak of war was postponed by further diplomatic complications. On the 12th of June Napoleon, whose policy throughout had been obscure and contradictory, signed a secret treaty with Austria, under which Venice was to be handed over to him, to be given to Italy in the event of her making a separate peace. La Marmora, however, who believed himself bound in honour to Prussia, refused to enter into a separate arrangement. On the 16th the Prussians began hostilities, and on the 20th Italy declared war.

Victor Emmanuel took the supreme command of the Italian army, and La Marmora resigned the premiership (which was assumed by Ricasoli), to become chief of the staff. La Marmora had three army corps (130,000 men) under his immediate command, to operate on the Mincio, while Cialdini with 80,000 men was to operate on the Po. The Austrian southern army consisting of 95,000 men was commanded by the archduke Albert, with General von John as chief of the staff. On the 23rd of June La Marmora crossed the Mincio, and on the 24th a battle was fought at Custozza, under circumstances highly disadvantageous to the Italians, which after a stubborn contest ended in a crushing Austrian victory. Bad generalship, bad organization and the jealousy between La Marmora and Della Rocca were responsible for this defeat. Custozza might have been afterwards retrieved, for the Italians had plenty of fresh troops besides Cialdini's army; but nothing was done, as both the king and La Marmora believed the situation to be much worse than it actually was. On the 3rd of July the Prussians completely defeated the Austrians at Königgrätz, and on the 5th Austria ceded Venetia to Napoleon, accepting his mediation in favour of peace.

¹ The counterblast of Pius IX. to this convention was the encyclical *Quanta Cura* of December 8, 1864, followed by the famous *Syllabus*

The Italian iron-clad fleet commanded by the incapable Persano, after wasting much time at Taranto and Ancona, made an unsuccessful attack on the Dalmatian island of Lissa on the 18th of July, and on the 20th was completely defeated by the Austrian squadron, consisting of wooden ships, but commanded by the capable Admiral Tegethoff.

On the 22nd Prussia, without consulting Italy, made an armistice with Austria, while Italy obtained an eight days' truce on condition of evacuating the Trentino, which had almost entirely fallen into the hands of Garibaldi and his volunteers. Ricasoli wished to go on with the war, rather than accept Venetia as a gift from France; but the king and La Marmora saw that peace must be made, as the whole Austrian army of 350,000 men was now free to fall on Italy. An armistice was accordingly signed at Cormons on the 12th of August; Austria handed Venetia over to General Leboeuf, representing Napoleon; and on the 3rd of October peace between Austria and Italy was concluded at Vienna. On the 19th Leboeuf handed Venetia over to the Venetian representatives, and at the plebiscite held on the 21st and 22nd, 647,246 votes were returned in favour of union with Italy, only 69 against it. When this result was announced to the king by a deputation from Venice he said: "This is the finest day of my life; Italy is made, but it is not complete." Rome was still wanting.

Custoza and Lissa were not Italy's only misfortunes in 1866. There had been considerable discontent in Sicily, where the government had made itself unpopular. The priesthood and the remnants of the Bourbon party fomented an agitation, which in September culminated in an attack on Palermo by 3000 armed insurgents, and in similar outbreaks elsewhere. The revolt was put down owing to the energy of the mayor of Palermo, Marquis A. Di Rudini, and the arrival of reinforcements. The Ricasoli cabinet fell over the law against the religious houses, and was succeeded by that of Rattazzi, who with the support of the Left was apparently more fortunate. The French regular troops were withdrawn from Rome in December 1866; but the pontifical forces were largely recruited in France and commanded by officers of the imperial army, and service under the pope was considered by the French war office as equivalent to service in France. This was a violation of the letter as well as of the spirit of the September convention, and a stronger and more straightforward statesman than Rattazzi would have declared Italy absolved from its provisions. Mazzini now wanted to promote an insurrection in Roman territory, whereas Garibaldi advocated an invasion from without. He delivered a series of violent speeches against the papacy, and made open preparations for a raid, which were not interfered with by the government; but on the 23rd of September 1867 Rattazzi had him suddenly arrested and confined to Caprera. In spite of the vigilance of the warships he escaped on the 14th of October and landed in Tuscany. Armed bands had already entered papal territory, but achieved nothing in particular. Their presence, however, was a sufficient excuse for Napoleon, under pressure of the clerical party, to send another expedition to Rome (26th of October). Rattazzi, after ordering a body of troops to enter papal territory with no definite object, now resigned, and was succeeded by Menabrea. Garibaldi joined the bands on the 23rd, but his ill-armed and ill-disciplined force was very inferior to his volunteers of '49, '60 and '66. On the 24th he captured Monte Rotondo, but did not enter Rome as the expected insurrection had not broken out. On the 29th a French force, under de Failly, arrived, and on the 3rd of November a battle took place at Mentana between 4000 or 5000 red-shirts and a somewhat superior force of French and pontificals. The Garibaldians, mowed down by the new French *chassepôt* rifles, fought until their last cartridges were exhausted, and retreated the next day towards the Italian frontier, leaving 800 prisoners.

The affair of Mentana caused considerable excitement throughout Europe, and the Roman question entered on an acute stage. Napoleon suggested his favourite expedient of a congress, but the proposal broke down owing to Great Britain's refusal to participate; and Rouher, the French premier, declared in the Chamber (5th of December 1867) that France could never permit the Italians to occupy Rome. The attitude of France strengthened that anti-French feeling in Italy which had begun with Villafranca; and Bismarck was not slow to make use of this hostility, with a view to preventing Italy from taking sides with France against Germany in the struggle between the two powers which he saw to be inevitable. At the same time Napoleon was making overtures both to Austria and to Italy, overtures which were favourably received. Victor Emmanuel was sincerely anxious to assist Napoleon, for in spite of Nice and Savoy and Mentana he felt a chivalrous desire to help the man who had fought for Italy. But with the French at Civitavecchia (they had left Rome very soon after Mentana) a war for France was not to be thought of, and Napoleon would not promise more than the literal observance of the September convention. Austria would not join France unless Italy did the same, and she realized that that was impossible unless Napoleon gave way about Rome. Consequently the negotiations were suspended. A scandal concerning the tobacco monopoly led to the fall of Menabrea, who was succeeded in December 1869 by Giovanni Lanza, with Visconti-Venosta at the foreign office and Q. Sella as finance minister. The latter introduced a sounder financial policy, which was maintained until the fall of the Right in 1876. Mazzini, now openly hostile to the monarchy, was seized with a perfect monomania for insurrections, and pro-

moted various small risings, the only effect of which was to show how completely his influence was gone.

In December 1869 the XXI. oecumenical council began its sittings in Rome, and on the 18th of July 1870 proclaimed the infallibility of the pope. Two days previously Napoleon had declared war on Prussia, and immediately afterwards he withdrew his troops from Civitavecchia; but he persuaded Lanza to promise to abide by the September convention, and it was not until after Wörth and Gravelotte that he offered to give Italy a free hand to occupy Rome. Then it was too late; Victor Emmanuel asked Thiers if he could give his word of honour that with 100,000 Italian troops France could be saved, but Thiers remained silent. Austria replied like Italy: "It is too late." On the 9th of August Italy made a declaration of neutrality, and three weeks later Visconti-Venosta informed the powers that Italy was about to occupy Rome. On the 3rd of September the news of Sedan reached Florence, and with the fall of Napoleon's empire the September convention ceased to have any value. The powers having engaged to abstain from intervention in Italian affairs, Victor Emmanuel addressed a letter to Pius IX. asking him in the name of religion and peace to accept Italian protection instead of the temporal power, to which the pope replied that he would only yield to force. On the 11th of September General Cadorna at the head of 60,000 men entered papal territory. The garrison of Civitavecchia surrendered to Bixio, but the 10,000 men in Rome, mostly French, Belgians, Swiss and Bavarians, under Kanzler, were ready to fight. Cardinal Antonelli would have come to terms, but the pope decided on making a sufficient show of resistance to prove that he was yielding to force. On the 20th the Italians began the attack, and General Mazé de la Roche's division having effected a breach in the Porta Pia, the pope ordered the garrison to cease fire and the Italians poured into the Eternal City followed by thousands of Roman exiles. By noon the whole city on the left of the Tiber was occupied and the garrison laid down their arms; the next day, at the pope's request, the Leonine City on the right bank was also occupied. It had been intended to leave that part of Rome to the pope, but by the earnest desire of the inhabitants it too was included in the Italian kingdom. At the plebiscite there were 133,681 votes for union and 1507 against it. In July 1872 King Victor Emmanuel made his solemn entry into Rome, which was then declared the capital of Italy. Thus, after a struggle of more than half a century, in spite of apparently insuperable obstacles, the liberation and the unity of Italy were accomplished.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW KINGDOM

THE downfall of the temporal power was hailed throughout Italy with unbounded enthusiasm. Abroad, Catholic countries at first received the tidings with resignation, and Protestant countries with joy. In France, where the Government of National Defence had replaced the Empire, Crémieux, as president of the government delegation at Tours, hastened to offer his congratulations to Italy. The occupation of Rome caused no surprise to the French government, which had been forewarned on 11th September of the Italian intentions. On that occasion Jules Favre had recognized the September convention to be dead, and, while refusing explicitly to denounce it, had admitted that unless Italy went to Rome, the city would become a prey to dangerous agitators. At the same time he made it clear that Italy would occupy Rome upon her own responsibility. Agreeably surprised by this attitude on the part of France, Visconti-Venosta lost no time in conveying officially the thanks of Italy to the French government. He doubtless foresaw that the language of Favre and Crémieux would not be endorsed by the French Clericals. Prussia, while satisfied at the fall of the temporal power, seemed to fear lest Italy might recompense the absence of French opposition to the occupation of Rome by armed intervention in favour of France. Bismarck, moreover, was indignant at the connivance of the Italian government in the Garibaldian expedition to Dijon, and was irritated by Visconti-Venosta's plea in the Italian parliament for the integrity of French territory. The course of events in France, however, soon calmed German apprehensions. The advent of Thiers, his attitude towards the petition of French bishops on behalf of the pope, the recall of Senard, the French minister at Florence—who had written to congratulate Victor Emmanuel on the capture of Rome—and the instructions given to his successor, the comte de Choiseul to absent himself from Italy at the moment of the king's official entry into the new capital (2nd July 1871), together with the haste displayed in appointing a French ambassador to the Holy See, rapidly cooled the cordiality of Franco-Italian relations, and reassured Bismarck on the score of any dangerous intimacy between the two governments.

The friendly attitude of France towards Italy during the period immediately subsequent to the occupation of Rome seemed to cow and to dishearten the Vatican. For a few weeks the relations between the Curia and the Italian authorities were marked by a conciliatory spirit. The secretary-general of the Italian foreign office, Baron Blanc, who had accompanied General Cadorna to Rome, was received almost daily by Cardinal Antonelli, papal secretary of state, in order to settle innumerable questions arising out of the Italian occupations. The royal commissioner for finance, Giacomelli, had, as a precautionary measure, seized the pontifical treasury; but upon being informed by Cardinal Antonelli, that among the funds deposited in the treasury were 1,000,000 crowns of Peter's Pence offered by the faithful to the pope in person, the commissioner was authorized by the Italian council of state not only to restore this sum, but also to indemnify the Holy See for moneys expended for the service of the October coupon of the pontifical debt, that debt having been taken over by the Italian state. On the 29th of September Cardinal Antonelli further apprised Baron Blanc that he was about to issue drafts for the monthly payment of the 50,000 crowns inscribed in the pontifical budget for the maintenance of the pope, the Sacred College, the apostolic palaces and the papal guards. The Italian treasury at once honoured all the papal drafts, and thus contributed a first instalment of the 3,225,000 lire per annum after-

wards placed by Article 4 of the Law of Guarantees at the disposal of the Holy See. Payments would have been regularly continued had not pressure from the French Clerical party coerced the Vatican into refusing any further instalment.

Once in possession of Rome, and guarantor to the Catholic world of the spiritual independence of the pope, the Italian government prepared juridically to regulate its relations to the Holy See. A bill known as the Law of Guarantees was therefore framed and laid before parliament. The measure was an amalgam of Cavour's scheme for a "free church in a free state," of Ricasoli's Free Church Bill rejected by parliament four years previously, and of the proposals presented to Pius IX. by Count Ponza di San Martino in September 1870. After a debate lasting nearly two months the Law of Guarantees was adopted in secret ballot on the 21st of March 1871 by 185 votes against 106.

It consisted of two parts. The first, containing thirteen articles, recognized (Articles 1 and 2) the person of the pontiff as sacred and intangible, and while providing for free discussion of religious questions, punished insults and outrages against the pope in the same way as insults and outrages against the king. Royal honours were attributed to the pope (Article 3), who was further guaranteed the same precedence as that accorded to him by other Catholic sovereigns, and the right to maintain his Noble and Swiss guards. Article 4 allotted the pontiff an annuity of 3,225,000 lire (£129,000) for the maintenance of the Sacred College, the sacred palaces, the congregations, the Vatican chancery and the diplomatic service. The sacred palaces, museums and libraries were, by Article 5, exempted from all taxation, and the pope was assured perpetual enjoyment of the Vatican and Lateran buildings and gardens, and of the papal villa at Castel Gandolfo. Articles 6 and 7 forbade access of any Italian official or agent to the above-mentioned palaces or to any eventual conclave or oecumenical council without special authorization from the pope, conclave or council. Article 8 prohibited the seizure or examination of any ecclesiastical papers, documents, books or registers of purely spiritual character. Article 9 guaranteed to the pope full freedom for the exercise of his spiritual ministry, and provided for the publication of pontifical announcements on the doors of the Roman churches and basilicas. Article 10 extended immunity to ecclesiastics employed by the Holy See, and bestowed upon foreign ecclesiastics in Rome the personal rights of Italian citizens. By Article 11, diplomatists accredited to the Holy See, and papal diplomatists while in Italy, were placed on the same footing as diplomatists accredited to the Quirinal. Article 12 provided for the transmission free of cost in Italy of all papal telegrams and correspondence both with bishops and foreign governments, and sanctioned the establishment, at the expense of the Italian state, of a papal telegraph office served by papal officials in communication with the Italian postal and telegraph system. Article 13 exempted all ecclesiastical seminaries, academies, colleges and schools for the education of priests in the city of Rome from all interference on the part of the Italian government.

This portion of the law, designed to reassure foreign Catholics, met with little opposition; but the second portion, regulating the relations between state and church in Italy, was sharply criticized by deputies who, like Sella, recognized the ideal of a "free church in a free state" to be an impracticable dream. The second division of the law abolished (Article 14) all restrictions upon the right of meeting of members of the clergy. By Article 15 the government relinquished its rights to apostolic legation in Sicily, and to the appointment of its own nominees to the chief benefices throughout the kingdom. Bishops were further dispensed from swearing fealty to the king, though, except in Rome and suburbs, the choice of bishops was limited to ecclesiastics of Italian nationality. Article 16 abolished the need for royal *exequatur* and *placet* for ecclesiastical publications, but subordinated the enjoyment of temporalities by bishops and priests to the concession of state *exequatur* and *placet*. Article 17 maintained the independence of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in spiritual and disciplinary matters, but reserved for the state the exclusive right to carry out coercive measures.

On the 12th of July 1871, Articles 268, 269 and 270 of the Italian Penal Code were so modified as to make ecclesiastics liable to imprisonment for periods varying from six months to five years, and to fines from 1000 to 3000 lire, for spoken or written attacks against the laws of the state, or for the fomentation of disorder. An encyclical of Pius IX. to the bishops of the Catholic Church on the 15th of May 1871 repudiated the Law of Guarantees, and summoned Catholic princes to co-operate in restoring the temporal power. Practically, therefore, the law has remained a one-sided enactment, by which Italy considers herself bound, and of which she has always observed the spirit, even though the exigencies of self-defence may have led in some minor respects to non-observance of the letter. The annuity payable to the pope has, for instance, been made subject to quinquennial prescription, so that in the event of tardy recognition of the law the Vatican could at no time claim payment of more than five years' annuity with interest.

For a few months after the occupation of Rome pressing questions incidental to a new change of capital and to the administration of a new domain distracted public attention from the real condition of Italian affairs. The rise of the Tiber and the flooding of Rome in December 1870 (tactfully used by Victor Emmanuel as an opportunity for a first visit to the new capital) illustrated the imperative necessity of reorganizing the drainage of the

city and of constructing the Tiber embankment. In spite of pressure from the French government, which desired Italy to maintain Florence as the political and to regard Rome merely as the moral capital of the realm, the government offices and both legislative chambers were transferred in 1871 to the Eternal City. Early in the year the crown prince Humbert with the Princess Margherita took up their residence in the Quirinal Palace, which, in view of the Vatican refusal to deliver up the keys, had to be opened by force. Eight monasteries were expropriated to make room for the chief state departments, pending the construction of more suitable edifices. The growth of Clerical influence in France engendered a belief that Italy would soon have to defend with the sword her newly won unity, while the tremendous lesson of the Franco-Prussian War convinced the military authorities of the need for thorough military reform. General Ricotti Magnani, minister of war, therefore framed an Army Reform Bill designed to bring the Italian army as nearly as possible up to the Prussian standard. Sella, minister of finance, notwithstanding the sorry plight of the Italian exchequer, readily granted the means for the reform. "We must arm," he said, "since we have overturned the papal throne," and he pointed to France as the quarter from which attack was most likely to come.

Though perhaps less desperate than during the previous decade, the condition of Italian finance was precarious indeed. With taxation screwed up to breaking point on personal and real estate, on all forms of commercial and industrial activity, and on salt, flour and other necessities of life; with a deficit of £8,500,000 for the current year, and the prospect of a further aggregate deficit of £12,000,000 during the next quinquennium, Sella's heroic struggle against national bankruptcy was still far from a successful termination. He chiefly had borne the brunt and won the laurels of the unprecedented fight against deficit in which Italy had been involved since 1862. As finance minister in the Rattazzi cabinet of that year he had been confronted with a public debt of nearly £120,000,000, and with an immediate deficit of nearly £18,000,000. In 1864, as minister in the La Marmora cabinet, he had again to face an excess of expenditure over income amounting to more than £14,600,000. By the seizure and sale of Church lands, by the sale of state railways, by "economy to the bone" and on one supreme occasion by an appeal to taxpayers to advance a year's quota of the land-tax, he had met the most pressing engagements of that troublous period. The king was persuaded to forgo one-fifth of his civil list, ministers and the higher civil servants were required to relinquish a portion of their meagre salaries, but, in spite of all, Sella had found himself in 1865 compelled to propose the most hated of fiscal burdens—a grist tax on cereals. This tax (*macinato*) had long been known in Italy. Vexatious methods of assessment and collection had made it so unpopular that the Italian government in 1859-1860 had thought it expedient to abolish it throughout the realm. Sella hoped by the application of a mechanical meter both to obviate the odium attaching to former methods of collection and to avoid the maintenance of an army of inspectors and tax-gatherers, whose stipends had formerly eaten up most of the proceeds of the impost. Before proposing the reintroduction of the tax, Sella and his friend Ferrara improved and made exhaustive experiments with the meter. The result of their efforts was laid before parliament in one of the most monumental and most painstaking preambles ever prefixed to a bill. Sella, nevertheless, fell before the storm of opposition which his scheme aroused. Scialoja, who succeeded him, was obliged to adopt a similar proposal, but parliament again proved refractory. Ferrara, successor of Scialoja, met a like fate; but Count Cambray-Digny, finance minister in the Menabrea cabinet of 1868-1869, driven to find means to cover a deficit aggravated by the interest on the Venetian debt, succeeded, with Sella's help, in forcing a Grist Tax Bill through parliament, though in a form of which Sella could not entirely approve. When, on the 1st of January 1869, the new tax came into force, nearly half the flour-mills in Italy ceased work. In many districts the government was obliged to open mills on its own account. Inspectors and tax-gatherers did their work under police protection, and in several parts of the country riots had to be suppressed *manu militari*. At first the net revenue from the impost was less than £1,100,000; but under Sella's firm administration (1869-1873), and in consequence of improvements gradually introduced by him, the net return ultimately exceeded £3,200,000. The parliamentary opposition to the impost, which the Left denounced as "the tax on hunger," was largely factitious. Few, except the open partisans of national bankruptcy, doubted its necessity; yet so strong was the current of feeling worked up for party purposes by opponents of the measure, that Sella's achievement in having by its means saved the financial situation of Italy deserves to rank among the most noteworthy performances of modern parliamentary statesmanship.

Under the stress of the appalling financial conditions represented by chronic deficit, crushing taxation, the heavy expenditure necessary for the consolidation of the kingdom, the reform of the army and the interest on the pontifical debt, Sella, on the 11th of December 1871, exposed to parliament the financial situation in all its nakedness. He recognized that considerable improvement had already taken place. Revenue from taxation had risen in a decade from £7,000,000 to £20,200,000; profit on state monopolies had increased from £7,000,000 to £9,400,000; exports had grown to exceed imports; income from the working of telegraphs had tripled itself; railways had been extended from 2200 to 6200

kilometres, and the annual travelling public had augmented from 15,000,000 to 25,000,000 persons. The serious feature of the situation lay less in the income than in the "intangible" expenditure, namely, the vast sums required for interest on the various forms of public debt and for pensions. Within ten years this category of outlay had increased from £8,000,000 to £28,800,000. During the same period the assumption of the Venetian and Roman debts, losses on the issue of loans and the accumulation of annual deficits, had caused public indebtedness to rise from £92,000,000 to £328,000,000, no less than £100,000,000 of the latter sum having been sacrificed in premiums and commissions to bankers and underwriters of loans. By economies and new taxes Sella had reduced the deficit to less than £2,000,000 in 1871, but for 1872 he found himself confronted with a total expenditure of £8,000,000 in excess of revenue. He therefore proposed to make over the treasury service to the state banks, to increase the forced currency, to raise the stamp and registration duties and to impose a new tax on textile fabrics. An optional conversion of sundry internal loans into consolidated stock at a lower rate of interest was calculated to effect considerable saving. The battle over these proposals was long and fierce. But for the tactics of Rattazzi, leader of the Left, who, by basing his opposition on party considerations, impeded the secession of Minghetti and a part of the Right from the ministerial majority, Sella would have been defeated. On the 23rd of March 1872, however, he succeeded in carrying his programme, which not only provided for the pressing needs of the moment, but laid the foundation of the much-needed equilibrium between expenditure and revenue.

In the spring of 1873 it became evident that the days of the Lanza-Sella cabinet were numbered. * Fear of the advent of a Radical administration under Rattazzi alone prevented the Minghettian Right from revolting against the government. The Left, conscious of its strength, impatiently awaited the moment of accession to power. Sella, the real head of the Lanza cabinet, was worn out by four years' continuous work and disheartened by the perfidious misrepresentation in which Italian politicians, particularly those of the Left, have ever excelled. By sheer force of will he compelled the Chamber early in 1873 to adopt some minor financial reforms, but on the 29th of April found himself in a minority on the question of a credit for a proposed state arsenal at Taranto. Pressure from all sides of the House, however, induced the ministry to retain office until after the debate on the application to Rome and the Papal States of the Religious Orders Bill (originally passed in 1866)—a measure which, with the help of Ricasoli, was carried at the end of May. While leaving intact the general houses of the various confraternities (except that of the Jesuits), the bill abolished the corporate personality of religious orders, handed over their schools and hospitals to civil administrators, placed their churches at the disposal of the secular clergy, and provided pensions for nuns and monks, those who had families being sent to reside with their relatives, and those who by reason of age or bereavement had no home but their monasteries being allowed to end their days in religious houses specially set apart for the purpose. The proceeds of the sale of the suppressed convents and monasteries were partly converted into pensions for monks and nuns, and partly allotted to the municipal charity boards which had undertaken the educational and charitable functions formerly exercised by the religious orders. To the pope was made over £16,000 per annum as a contribution to the expense of maintaining in Rome representatives of foreign orders; the Sacred College, however, rejected this endowment, and summoned all the suppressed confraternities to reconstitute themselves under the ordinary Italian law of association. A few days after the passage of the Religious Orders Bill, the death of Rattazzi (5th June 1873) removed all probability of the immediate advent of the Left. Sella, uncertain of the loyalty of the Right, challenged a vote on the immediate discussion of further financial reforms, and on the 23rd of June was overthrown by a coalition of the Left under Depretis with a part of the Right under Minghetti and the Tuscan Centre under Correnti. The administration which thus fell was unquestionably the most important since the death of Cavour. It had completed national unity, transferred the capital to Rome, overcome the chief obstacles to financial equilibrium, initiated military reform and laid the foundation of the relations between state and church.

The succeeding Minghetti-Visconti-Venosta cabinet—which held office from the 10th of July 1873 to the 18th of March 1876—continued in essential points the work of the preceding administration. Minghetti's finance, though less clear-sighted and less resolute than that of Sella, was on the whole prudent and beneficial. With the aid of Sella he concluded conventions for the redemption of the chief Italian railways from their French and Austrian proprietors. By dint of expedients he gradually overcame the chronic deficit, and, owing to the normal increase of revenue, ended his term of office with the announcement of a surplus of some £720,000. The question whether this surplus was real or only apparent has been much debated, but there is no reason to doubt its substantial reality. It left out of account a sum of £1,000,000 for railway construction which was covered by credit, but, on the other hand, took no note of £360,000 expended in the redemption of debt. Practically, therefore, the Right, of which the Minghetti cabinet was the last representative administration, left Italian finance with a surplus of £80,000. Outside the all-important domain of finance, the attention of Minghetti and his colleagues was princi-

pally absorbed by strife between church and state, army reform and railway redemption. For some time after the occupation of Rome the pope, in order to substantiate the pretence that his spiritual freedom had been diminished, avoided the creation of cardinals and the nomination of bishops. On the 22nd of December 1873, however, he unexpectedly created twelve cardinals, and subsequently proceeded to nominate a number of bishops. Visconti-Venosta, who had retained the portfolio for foreign affairs in the Minghetti cabinet, at once drew the attention of the European powers to this proof of the pope's spiritual freedom and of the imaginary nature of his "imprisonment" in the Vatican. At the same time he assured them that absolute liberty would be guaranteed to the deliberations of a conclave. In relation to the Church in Italy, Minghetti's policy was less perspicacious. He let it be understood that the announcement of the appointment of bishops and the request for the royal *exequatur* might be made to the government impersonally by the congregation of bishops and regulars, by a municipal council or by any other corporate body—a concession of which the bishops were quick to take advantage, but which so irritated Italian political opinion that, in July 1875, the government was compelled to withdraw the temporalities of ecclesiastics who had neglected to apply for the *exequatur*, and to evict sundry bishops who had taken possession of their palaces without authorization from the state. Parliamentary pressure further obliged Bonghi, minister of public instruction, to compel clerical seminaries either to forgo the instruction of lay pupils or to conform to the laws of the state in regard to inspection and examination, an ordinance which gave rise to conflicts between ecclesiastical and lay authorities, and led to the forcible dissolution of the Mantua seminary and to the suppression of the Catholic university in Rome.

More noteworthy than its management of internal affairs were the efforts of the Minghetti cabinet to strengthen and consolidate national defence. Appalled by the weakness, or rather the non-existence, of the navy, Admiral Saint-Bon, with his coadjutor Signor Brin, addressed himself earnestly to the task of recreating the fleet, which had never recovered from the effects of the disaster of Lissa. During his three years of office he laid the foundation upon which Brin was afterwards to build up a new Italian navy. Simultaneously General Ricotti Magnani matured the army reform scheme which he had elaborated under the preceding administration. His bill, adopted by parliament on the 7th of June 1875, still forms the ground plan of the Italian army.

It was fortunate for Italy that during the whole period 1869–1876 the direction of her foreign policy remained in the experienced hands of Visconti-Venosta, a statesman whose trustworthiness, dignity and moderation even political opponents have been compelled to recognize. Diplomatic records fail to substantiate the accusations of lack of initiative and instability of political criterion currently brought against him by contemporaries. As foreign minister of a young state which had attained unity in defiance of the most formidable religious organization in the world and in opposition to the traditional policy of France, it could but be Visconti-Venosta's aim to uphold the dignity of his country while convincing European diplomacy that United Italy was an element of order and progress, and that the spiritual independence of the Roman pontiff had suffered no diminution. Prudence, moreover, counselled avoidance of all action likely to serve the predominant anti-Italian party in France as a pretext for violent intervention in favour of the pope. On the occasion of the Metrical Congress, which met in Paris in 1872, he, however, successfully protested against the recognition of the Vatican delegate, Father Secchi, as a representative of a "state," and obtained from Count de Rémusat, French foreign minister, a formal declaration that the presence of Father Secchi on that occasion could not constitute a diplomatic precedent. The irritation displayed by Bismarck at the Francophil attitude of Italy towards the end of the Franco-German War gave place to a certain show of goodwill when the great chancellor found himself in his turn involved in a struggle against the Vatican and when the policy of Thiers began to strain Franco-Italian relations. Thiers had consistently opposed the emperor Napoleon's pro-Italian policy. In the case of Italy, as in that of Germany, he frankly regretted the constitution of powerful homogeneous states upon the borders of France. Personal pique accentuated this feeling in regard to Italy. The refusal of Victor Emmanuel II. to meet Thiers at the opening of the Mont Cenis tunnel (a refusal not unconnected with offensive language employed at Florence in October 1870 by Thiers during his European tour, and with his instructions to the French minister to remain absent from Victor Emmanuel's official entry into Rome) had wounded the *amour propre* of the French statesman, and had decreased whatever inclination he might otherwise have felt to oppose the French Clerical agitation for the restoration of the temporal power, and for French interference with the Italian Religious Orders Bill. Consequently relations between France and Italy became so strained that in 1873 both the French minister to the Quirinal and the Italian minister to the Republic remained for several months absent from their posts. At this juncture the emperor of Austria invited Victor Emmanuel to visit the Vienna Exhibition, and the Italian government received a confidential intimation that acceptance of the invitation to Vienna would be followed by a further invitation from Berlin. Perceiving the advantage of a visit to the imperial and apostolic court after the Italian occupation of Rome and the suppression of the religious orders, and convinced of the value of more cordial intercourse with the

German empire, Visconti-Venosta and Minghetti advised their sovereign to accept both the Austrian and the subsequent German invitations. The visit to Vienna took place on the 17th to the 22nd of September, and that to Berlin on the 22nd to the 26th of September 1873, the Italian monarch being accorded in both capitals a most cordial reception, although the contemporaneous publication of La Marmora's famous pamphlet, *More Light on the Events of 1866*, prevented intercourse between the Italian ministers and Bismarck from being entirely confidential. Visconti-Venosta and Minghetti, moreover, wisely resisted the chancellor's pressure to override the Law of Guarantees and to engage in an Italian *Kulturkampf*. Nevertheless the royal journey contributed notably to the establishment of cordial relations between Italy and the central powers, relations which were further strengthened by the visit of the emperor Francis Joseph to Victor Emmanuel at Venice in April 1875, and by that of the German emperor to Milan in October of the same year. Meanwhile Thiers had given place to Marshal MacMahon, who effected a decided improvement in Franco-Italian relations by recalling from Civitavecchia the cruiser "Orénoque," which since 1870 had been stationed in that port at the disposal of the pope in case he should desire to quit Rome. The foreign policy of Visconti-Venosta may be said to have reinforced the international position of Italy without sacrifice of dignity, and without the vacillation and short-sightedness which was to characterize the ensuing administrations of the Left.

The fall of the Right on the 18th of March 1876 was an event destined profoundly and in many respects adversely to affect the course of Italian history. Except at rare and not auspicious intervals, the Right had held office from 1849 to 1876. Its rule was associated in the popular mind with severe administration; hostility to the democratic elements represented by Garibaldi, Crispi, Depretis and Bertani; ruthless imposition and collection of taxes in order to meet the financial engagements forced upon Italy by the vicissitudes of her Risorgimento; strong predilection for Piedmontese, Lombards and Tuscans, and a steady determination, not always scrupulous in its choice of means, to retain executive power and the most important administrative offices of the state for the *consorteria*, or close corporation, of its own adherents. For years the men of the Left had worked to inoculate the electorate with suspicion of Conservative methods and with hatred of the imposts which they nevertheless knew to be indispensable to sound finance. In regard to the grist tax especially, the agitators of the Left had placed their party in a radically false position. Moreover, the redemption of the railways by the state—contracts for which had been signed by Sella in 1875 on behalf of the Minghetti cabinet with Rothschild at Basel and with the Austrian government at Vienna—had been fiercely opposed by the Left, although its members were for the most part convinced of the utility of the operation. When, at the beginning of March 1876, these contracts were submitted to parliament, a group of Tuscan deputies, under Cesare Correnti, joined the opposition, and on the 18th of March took advantage of a chance motion concerning the date of discussion of an interpellation on the grist tax to place the Minghetti cabinet in a minority. Depretis, ex-pro-dictator of Sicily, and successor of Rattazzi in the leadership of the Left, was entrusted by the king with the formation of a Liberal ministry. Besides the premiership, Depretis assumed the portfolio of finance; Nicotera, an ex-Garibaldian of somewhat tarnished reputation, but a man of energetic and conservative temperament, was placed at the ministry of the interior; public works were entrusted to Zanardelli, a Radical doctrinaire of considerable juridical attainments; General Mezzacapo and Signor Brin replaced General Ricotti Magnani and Admiral Saint-Bon at the war office and ministry of marine; while to Mancini and Coppino, prominent members of the Left, were allotted the portfolios of justice and public instruction. Great difficulty was experienced in finding a foreign minister willing to challenge comparison with Visconti-Venosta. Several diplomatists in active service were approached, but, partly on account of their refusal, and partly from the desire of the Left to avoid giving so important a post to a diplomatist bound by ties of friendship or of interest to the Right, the choice fell upon Melegari, Italian minister at Bern.

The new ministers had long since made monarchical professions of faith, but, up to the moment of taking office, were nevertheless considered to be tinged with an almost revolutionary hue. The king alone appeared to feel no misgiving. His shrewd sense of political expediency and his loyalty to constitutional principles saved him from the error of obstructing the advent and driving into an anti-dynastic attitude politicians who had succeeded in winning popular favour. Indeed, the patriotism and loyalty of the new ministers were above suspicion. Danger lay rather in entrusting men schooled in political conspiracy and in unscrupulous parliamentary opposition with the government of a young state still beset by enemies at home and abroad. As an opposition party the Left had lived upon the facile credit of political promises, but had no well-considered programme nor other discipline nor unity of purpose than that born of the common eagerness of its leaders for office and their common hostility to the Right. Neither Depretis, Nicotera, Crispi, Cairoli nor Zanardelli was disposed permanently to recognize the superiority of any one chief. The dissensions which broke out among them within a few months of the accession of their party to power never afterwards disappeared, except at rare moments when it became necessary to unite in preventing the return of the Conservatives. Considerations such as

these could not be expected to appeal to the nation at large, which hailed the advent of the Left as the dawn of an era of unlimited popular sovereignty, diminished administrative pressure, reduction of taxation and general prosperity. The programme of Depretis corresponded only in part to these expectations. Its chief points were extension of the franchise, incompatibility of a parliamentary mandate with an official position, strict enforcement of the rights of the State in regard to the Church, protection of freedom of conscience, maintenance of the military and naval policy inaugurated by the Conservatives, acceptance of the railway redemption contracts, consolidation of the financial equilibrium, abolition of the forced currency, and, eventually, fiscal reform. The long-promised abolition of the grist tax was not explicitly mentioned, opposition to the railway redemption contracts was transformed into approval, and the vaunted reduction of taxation replaced by lip-service to the Conservative deity of financial equilibrium. The railway redemption contracts were in fact immediately voted by parliament, with a clause pledging the government to legislate in favour of farming out the railways to private companies.

Nicotera, minister of the interior, began his administration of home affairs by a sweeping change in the *personnel* of the prefects, sub-prefects and public prosecutors, but found himself obliged to incur the wrath of his supporters by prohibiting Radical meetings likely to endanger public order, and by enunciating administrative principles which would have befitted an inveterate Conservative. In regard to the Church, he instructed the prefects strictly to prevent infraction of the law against religious orders. At the same time the cabinet, as a whole, brought in a Clerical Abuses Bill, threatening with severe punishment priests guilty of disturbing the peace of families, of opposing the laws of the state, or of fomenting disorder. Depretis, for his part, was compelled to declare impracticable the immediate abolition of the grist tax, and to frame a bill for the increase of revenue, acts which caused the secession of some sixty Radicals and Republicans from the ministerial majority, and gave the signal for an agitation against the premier similar to that which he himself had formerly undertaken against the Right. The first general election under the Left (November 1876) had yielded the cabinet the overwhelming majority of 421 Ministerialists against 87 Conservatives, but the very size of the majority rendered it unmanageable. The Clerical Abuses Bill provoked further dissensions: Nicotera was severely affected by revelations concerning his political past; Zanardelli refused to sanction the construction of a railway in Calabria in which Nicotera was interested; and Depretis saw fit to compensate the supporters of his bill for the increase of revenue by decorating at one stroke sixty ministerial deputies with the Order of the Crown of Italy. A further derogation from the ideal of democratic austerity was committed by adding £80,000 per annum to the king's civil list (14th May 1877) and by burdening the state exchequer with royal household pensions amounting to £20,000 a year. The civil list, which the law of the 10th of August 1862 had fixed at £650,000 a year, but which had been voluntarily reduced by the king to £530,000 in 1864, and to £490,000 in 1867, was thus raised to £570,000 a year. Almost the only respect in which the Left could boast a decided improvement over the administration of the Right was the energy displayed by Nicotera in combating brigandage and the mafia in Calabria and Sicily. Successes achieved in those provinces failed, however, to save Nicotera from the wrath of the Chamber, and on the 14th of December 1877 a cabinet crisis arose over a question concerning the secrecy of telegraphic correspondence. Depretis thereupon reconstructed his administration, excluding Nicotera, Melegari and Zanardelli, placing Crispi at the home office, entrusting Magliani with finance, and himself assuming the direction of foreign affairs.

In regard to foreign affairs, the début of the Left as a governing party was scarcely more satisfactory than its home policy. Since the war of 1866 the Left had advocated an Italo-Prussian alliance in opposition to the Francophil tendencies of the Right. On more than one occasion Bismarck had maintained direct relations with the chiefs of the Left, and had in 1870 worked to prevent a Franco-Italian alliance by encouraging the "party of action" to press for the occupation of Rome. Besides, the Left stood for anti-clericalism and for the retention by the State of means of coercing the Church, in opposition to the men of the Right, who, with the exception of Sella, favoured Cavour's ideal of "a free Church in a free State," and the consequent abandonment of state control over ecclesiastical government. Upon the outbreak of the Prussian *Kulturkampf* the Left had pressed the Right to introduce an Italian counterpart to the Prussian May laws, especially as the attitude of Thiers and the hostility of the French Clericals obviated the need for sparing French susceptibilities. Visconti-Venosta and Minghetti, partly from aversion to a Jacobin policy, and partly from a conviction that Bismarck sooner or later would undertake his *Gang nach Canossa*, regardless of any tacit engagement he might have assumed towards Italy, had wisely declined to be drawn into any infraction of the Law of Guarantees. It was, however, expected that the chiefs of the Left, upon attaining office, would turn resolutely towards Prussia in search of a guarantee against the Clerical menace embodied in the régime of Marshal Macmahon. On the contrary, Depretis and Melegari, both of whom were imbued with French Liberal doctrines, adopted towards the Republic an attitude so deferential as to arouse suspicion in Vienna and Berlin. Depretis recalled Nigra from Paris and replaced him by General Cialdini, whose ardent plea for Italian intervention in favour

of France in 1870, and whose comradeship with Marshal Macmahon in 1859, would, it was supposed, render him *persona gratissima* to the French government. This calculation was falsified by events. Incensed by the elevation to the rank of embassies of the Italian legation in Paris and the French legation to the Quirinal, and by the introduction of the Italian bill against clerical abuses, the French Clerical party not only attacked Italy and her representative, General Cialdini, in the Chamber of Deputies, but promoted a monster petition against the Italian bill. Even the *coup d'état* of the 16th of May 1877 (when Macmahon dismissed the Jules Simon cabinet for opposing the Clerical petition) hardly availed to change the attitude of Depretis. As a precaution against an eventual French attempt to restore the temporal power, orders were hurriedly given to complete the defences of Rome, but in other respects the Italian government maintained its subservient attitude. Yet at that moment the adoption of a clear line of policy, in accord with the central powers, might have saved Italy from the loss of prestige entailed by her bearing in regard to the Russo-Turkish War and the Austrian acquisition of Bosnia, and might have prevented the disappointment subsequently occasioned by the outcome of the Congress of Berlin. In the hope of inducing the European powers to "compensate" Italy for the increase of Austrian influence on the Adriatic, Crispi undertook in the autumn of 1877, with the approval of the king, and in spite of the half-disguised opposition of Depretis, a semi-official mission to Paris, Berlin, London and Vienna. The mission appears not to have been an unqualified success, though Crispi afterwards affirmed in the Chamber (4th March 1886) that Depretis might in 1877 "have harnessed fortune to the Italian chariot." Depretis, anxious only to avoid "a policy of adventure," let slip whatever opportunity may have presented itself, and neglected even to deal energetically with the impotent but mischievous Italian agitation for a "rectification" of the Italo-Austrian frontier. He greeted the treaty of San Stefano (3rd March 1878) with undisguised relief, and by the mouth of the king, congratulated Italy (7th March 1878) on having maintained with the powers friendly and cordial relations "free from suspicious precautions," and upon having secured for herself "that most precious of alliances, the alliance of the future"—a phrase of which the empty rhetoric was to be bitterly demonstrated by the Berlin Congress and the French occupation of Tunisia.

CHAPTER VII

CRISPI'S ASCENDANCY

THE entry of Crispi into the Depretis cabinet (December 1877) placed at the ministry of the interior a strong hand and sure eye at a moment when they were about to become imperatively necessary. Crispi was the only man of truly statesmanlike calibre in the ranks of the Left. Formerly a friend and disciple of Mazzini, with whom he had broken on the question of the monarchical form of government which Crispi believed indispensable to the unification of Italy, he had afterwards been one of Garibaldi's most efficient coadjutors and an active member of the "party of action." Passionate, not always scrupulous in his choice and use of political weapons, intensely patriotic, loyal with a loyalty based rather on reason than sentiment, quick-witted, prompt in action, determined and pertinacious, he possessed in eminent degree many qualities lacking in other Liberal chieftains. Hardly had he assumed office when the unexpected death of Victor Emmanuel II. (9th January 1878) stirred national feeling to an unprecedented depth, and placed the continuity of monarchical institutions in Italy upon trial before Europe. For thirty years Victor Emmanuel had been the centre point of national hopes, the token and embodiment of the struggle for national redemption. He had led the country out of the despondency which followed the defeat of Novara and the abdication of Charles Albert, through all the vicissitudes of national unification to the final triumph at Rome. His disappearance snapped the chief link with the heroic period, and removed from the helm of state a ruler of large heart, great experience and civil courage, at a moment when elements of continuity were needed and vital problems of internal reorganization had still to be faced. Crispi adopted the measures necessary to ensure the tranquil accession of King Humbert with a quick energy which precluded any Radical or Republican demonstrations. His influence decided the choice of the Roman Pantheon as the late monarch's burial-place, in spite of formidable pressure from the Piedmontese, who wished Victor Emmanuel II. to rest with the Sardinian kings at Superga. He also persuaded the new ruler to inaugurate, as King Humbert I., the new dynastical epoch of the kings of Italy, instead of continuing as Humbert IV. the succession of the kings of Sardinia. Before the commotion caused by the death of Victor Emmanuel had passed away, the decease of Pius IX. (7th February 1878) placed further demands upon Crispi's sagacity and promptitude. Like Victor Emmanuel, Pius IX. had been bound up with the history of the Risorgimento, but, unlike him, had represented and embodied the anti-national, reactionary spirit. Ecclesiastically, he had become the instrument of the triumph of Jesuit influence, and had in turn set his seal upon the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus and Papal Infallibility. Yet, in spite of all, his jovial disposition and good-humoured cynicism saved him from unpopularity, and rendered his death an occasion of mourning. Notwithstanding the pontiff's bestowal of the apostolic benediction *in articulo mortis* upon Victor Emmanuel, the attitude of the Vatican had remained so inimical as to make it doubtful whether the conclave would be held in Rome. Crispi, whose strong anti-clerical convictions did not prevent him from regarding the papacy as pre-eminently an Italian institution, was determined both to prove to the Catholic world the practical independence of the government of the Church and to retain for Rome so potent a centre of universal attraction as the presence of the future pope. The Sacred College having decided to hold the conclave abroad, Crispi assured them of absolute freedom if they remained in Rome, or of protection to the frontier should they migrate, but warned them that, once evacuated, the Vatican would be occupied in the name of the Italian

government and be lost to the Church as headquarters of the papacy. The cardinals thereupon overruled their former decision, and the conclave was held in Rome, the new pope, Cardinal Pecci, being elected on the 20th of February 1878 without let or hindrance. The Italian government not only prorogued the Chamber during the conclave to prevent unseemly inquiries or demonstrations on the part of deputies, but by means of Mancini, minister of justice, and Cardinal di Pietro, assured the new pope protection during the settlement of his outstanding personal affairs, an assurance of which Leo XIII. on the evening after his election, took full advantage. At the same time the duke of Aosta, commander of the Rome army corps, ordered the troops to render royal honours to the pontiff should he officially appear in the capital. King Humbert addressed to the pope a letter of congratulation upon his election, and received a courteous reply. The improvement thus signalized in the relations between Quirinal and Vatican was further exemplified on the 18th of October 1878, when the Italian government accepted a papal formula with regard to the granting of the royal *exequatur* for bishops, whereby they, upon nomination by the Holy See, recognized state control over, and made application for, the payment of their temporalities.

The Depretis-Crispi cabinet did not long survive the opening of the new reign. Crispi's position was shaken by a morally plausible but juridically untenable charge of bigamy, while on the 8th of March the election of Cairoli, an opponent of the ministry and head of the extremest section of the Left, to the presidency of the Chamber, induced Depretis to tender his resignation to the new king. Cairoli succeeded in forming an administration, in which his friend Count Corti, Italian ambassador at Constantinople, accepted the portfolio of foreign affairs, Zanardelli the ministry of the interior, and Seismit Doda the ministry of finance. Though the cabinet had no stable majority, it induced the Chamber to sanction a commercial treaty which had been negotiated with France and a general "autonomous" customs tariff. The commercial treaty was, however, rejected by the French Chamber in June 1878, a circumstance necessitating the application of the Italian general tariff, which implied a 10 to 20 % increase in the duties on the principal French exports. A highly imaginative financial exposition by Seismit Doda, who announced a surplus of £2,400,000, paved the way for a Grist Tax Reduction Bill, which Cairoli had taken over from the Depretis programme. The Chamber, though convinced of the danger of this reform, the perils of which were incisively demonstrated by Sella, voted by an overwhelming majority for an immediate reduction of the impost by one-fourth, and its complete abolition within four years. Cairoli's premiership was, however, destined to be cut short by an attempt made upon the king's life in November 1878, during a royal visit to Naples, by a miscreant named Passanante. In spite of the courage and presence of mind of Cairoli, who received the dagger thrust intended for the king, public and parliamentary indignation found expression in a vote which compelled the ministry to resign.

Though brief, Cairoli's term of office was momentous in regard to foreign affairs. The treaty of San Stefano had led to the convocation of the Berlin Congress, and though Count Corti was by no means ignorant of the rumours concerning secret agreements between Germany, Austria and Russia, and Germany, Austria and Great Britain, he scarcely seemed alive to the possible effect of such agreements upon Italy. Replying on the 9th of April 1878 to interpellations by Visconti-Venosta and other deputies on the impending Congress of Berlin, he appeared free from apprehension lest Italy, isolated, might find herself face to face with a change of the balance of power in the Mediterranean, and declared that in the event of serious complications Italy would be "too much sought after rather than too much forgotten." The policy of Italy in the congress, he added, would be to support the interests of the young Balkan nations. Wrapped in this optimism, Count Corti proceeded, as first Italian delegate, to Berlin, where he found himself obliged, on the 28th of May, to join reluctantly in sanctioning the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the 8th of July the revelation of the Anglo-Ottoman treaty for the British occupation of Cyprus took the congress by surprise. Italy, who had made the integrity of the Ottoman empire a cardinal point of her Eastern policy, felt this change of the Mediterranean *status quo* the more severely inasmuch as, in order not to strain her relations with France, she had turned a deaf ear to Austrian, Russian and German advice to prepare to occupy Tunisia in agreement with Great Britain. Count Corti had no suspicion that France had adopted a less disinterested attitude towards similar suggestions from Bismarck and Lord Salisbury. He therefore returned from the German capital with "clean" but empty hands, a plight which found marked disfavour in Italian eyes, and stimulated anti-Austrian Irredentism. Ever since Venetia had been ceded by Austria to the emperor Napoleon, and by him to Italy, after the war of 1866, secret revolutionary committees had been formed in the northern Italian provinces to prepare for the "redemption" of Trent and Trieste. For twelve years these committees had remained comparatively inactive, but in 1878 the presence of the ex-Garibaldian Cairoli at the head of the government, and popular dissatisfaction at the spread of Austrian sway on the Adriatic, encouraged them to begin a series of noisy demonstrations. On the evening of the signature at Berlin of the clause sanctioning the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an Irredentist riot took place before the Austrian consulate at Venice. The Italian government attached

little importance to the occurrence, and believed that a diplomatic expression of regret would suffice to allay Austrian irritation. Austria, indeed, might easily have been persuaded to ignore the Irredentist agitation, had not the equivocal attitude of Cairoli and Zanardelli cast doubt upon the sincerity of their regret. The former at Pavia (15th October 1788), and the latter at Arco (3rd November), declared publicly that Irredentist manifestations could not be prevented under existing laws, but gave no hint of introducing any law to sanction their prevention. "Repression, not prevention" became the official formula, the enunciation of which by Cairoli at Pavia caused Count Corti and two other ministers to resign.

The fall of Cairoli, and the formation of a second Depretis cabinet in 1878, brought no substantial change in the attitude of the government towards Irredentism, nor was the position improved by the return of Cairoli to power in the following July. Though aware of Bismarck's hostility towards Italy, of the conclusion of the Austro-German alliance of 1879, and of the undisguised ill-will of France, Italy not only made no attempt to crush an agitation as mischievous as it was futile, but granted a state funeral to General Avezzana, president of the Irredentist League. In Bonghi's mordant phrase, the foreign policy of Italy during this period may be said to have been characterized by "enormous intellectual impotence counterbalanced by equal moral feebleness." Home affairs were scarcely better managed. Parliament had degenerated into a congeries of personal groups, whose members were eager only to overturn cabinets in order to secure power for the leaders and official favours for themselves. Depretis, who had succeeded Cairoli in December 1878, fell in July 1879, after a vote in which Cairoli and Nicotera joined the Conservative opposition. On 12th July Cairoli formed a new administration, only to resign on 24th November, and to reconstruct his cabinet with the help of Depretis. The administration of finance was as chaotic as the condition of parliament. The £2,400,000 surplus announced by Seismit Doda proved to be a myth. Nevertheless Magliani, who succeeded Seismit Doda, had neither the perspicacity nor the courage to resist the abolition of the grist tax. The first vote of the Chamber for the immediate diminution of the tax, and for its total abolition on 1st January 1883, had been opposed by the Senate. A second bill was passed by the Chamber on 18th July 1879, providing for the immediate repeal of the grist tax on minor cereals, and for its total abolition on 1st January 1884. While approving the repeal in regard to minor cereals, the Senate (24th January 1880) again rejected the repeal of the tax on grinding wheat as prejudicial to national finance. After the general election of 1880, however, the Ministerialists, aided by a number of factious Conservatives, passed a third bill repealing the grist tax on wheat (10th July 1880), the repeal to take effect from the 1st of January 1884 onwards. The Senate, in which the partisans of the ministry had been increased by numerous appointments *ad hoc*, finally set the seal of its approval upon the measure. Notwithstanding this prospective loss of revenue, parliament showed great reluctance to vote any new impost, although hardly a year previously it had sanctioned (30th June 1879) Depretis's scheme for spending during the next eighteen years £43,200,000 in building 5000 kilometres of railway, an expenditure not wholly justified by the importance of the lines, and useful principally as a source of electoral sops for the constituents of ministerial deputies. The unsatisfactory financial condition of the Florence, Rome and Naples municipalities necessitated state help, but the Chamber nevertheless proceeded with a light heart (23rd February 1881) to sanction the issue of a foreign loan for £26,000,000, with a view to the abolition of the forced currency, thus adding to the burdens of the exchequer a load which three years later again dragged Italy into the gulf of chronic deficit.

In no modern country is error or incompetence on the part of administrators more swiftly followed by retribution than in Italy; both at home and abroad she is hemmed in by political and economic conditions which leave little margin for folly, and still less for "mental and moral insufficiency," such as had been displayed by the Left. Nemesis came in the spring of 1881, in the form of the French invasion of Tunisia. Guiccioli, the biographer of Sella, observes that Italian politicians find it especially hard to resist "the temptation of appearing crafty." The men of the Left believed themselves subtle enough to retain the confidence and esteem of all foreign powers while coquetting at home with elements which some of these powers had reason to regard with suspicion. Italy, in constant danger from France, needed good relations with Austria and Germany, but could only attain the goodwill of the former by firm treatment of the revolutionary Irredentist agitation, and of the latter by clear demonstration of Italian will and ability to cope with all anti-monarchical forces. Depretis and Cairoli did neither the one nor the other. Hence, when opportunity offered firmly to establish Italian predominance in the central Mediterranean by an occupation of Tunisia, they found themselves deprived of those confidential relations with the central powers, and even with Great Britain, which might have enabled them to use the opportunity to full advantage. The conduct of Italy in declining the suggestions received from Count Andrassy and General Ignatiev on the eve of the Russo-Turkish War—that Italy should seek compensation in Tunisia for the extension of Austrian sway in the Balkans—and in subsequently rejecting the German suggestion to come to an arrangement with Great Britain for the occupation of Tunisia as compensation for the British occupation of Cyprus, was certainly due to fear lest an attempt on Tunisia should

lead to a war with France, for which Italy knew herself to be totally unprepared. This very unpreparedness, however, rendered still less excusable her treatment of the Irredentist agitation, which brought her within a hair's-breadth of a conflict with Austria. Although Cairoli, upon learning of the Anglo-Ottoman convention in regard to Cyprus, had advised Count Corti of the possibility that Great Britain might seek to placate France by conniving at a French occupation of Tunisia, neither he nor Count Corti had any inkling of the verbal arrangement made between Lord Salisbury and Waddington at the instance of Bismarck, that, when convenient, France should occupy Tunisia, an agreement afterwards confirmed (with a reserve as to the eventual attitude of Italy) in despatches exchanged in July and August 1878 between the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street. Almost up to the moment of the French occupation of Tunisia the Italian government believed that Great Britain, if only out of gratitude for the bearing of Italy in connexion with the Dulcigno demonstration in the autumn of 1880, would prevent French acquisition of the Regency. Ignorant of the assurance conveyed to France by Lord Granville that the Gladstone cabinet would respect the engagements of the Beaconsfield-Salisbury administration, Cairoli, in deference to Italian public opinion, endeavoured to neutralize the activity of the French consul Roustan by the appointment of an equally energetic Italian consul, Maccio. The rivalry between these two officials in Tunisia contributed not a little to strain Franco-Italian relations, but it is doubtful whether France would have precipitated her action had not General Menabrea, Italian ambassador in London, urged his government to purchase the Tunis-Goletta railway from the English company by which it had been constructed. A French attempt to purchase the line was upset in the English courts, and the railway was finally secured by Italy at a price more than eight times its real value. This pertinacity engendered a belief in France that Italy was about to undertake in Tunisia a more aggressive policy than necessary for the protection of her commercial interests. Roustan therefore hastened to extort from the bey concessions calculated to neutralize the advantages which Italy had hoped to secure by the possession of the Tunis-Goletta line, and at the same time the French government prepared at Toulon an expeditionary corps for the occupation of the Regency. In the spring of 1881 the Kroumir tribe was reported to have attacked a French force on the Algerian border, and on the 9th of April Roustan informed the bey of Tunis that France would chastise the assailants. The bey issued futile protests to the powers. On the 26th of April the island of Tabarca was occupied by the French, Bizerta was seized on the 2nd of May, and on the 12th of May the bey signed the treaty of Bardo accepting the French protectorate. France undertook the maintenance of order in the Regency, and assumed the representation of Tunisia in all dealings with other countries.

Italian indignation at the French *coup de main* was the deeper on account of the apparent duplicity of the government of the Republic. On the 11th of May the French foreign minister, Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, had officially assured the Italian ambassador in Paris that France "had no thought of occupying Tunisia or any part of Tunisian territory, beyond some points of the Kroumir country." This assurance, dictated by Jules Ferry to Barthélemy Saint Hilaire in the presence of the Italian ambassador, and by him telegraphed *en clair* to Rome, was considered a binding pledge that France would not materially alter the *status quo* in Tunisia. Documents subsequently published have somewhat attenuated the responsibility of Ferry and Saint Hilaire for this breach of faith, and have shown that the French forces in Tunisia acted upon secret instructions from General Farre, minister of war in the Ferry cabinet, who pursued a policy diametrically opposed to the official declarations made by the premier and the foreign minister. Even had this circumstance been known at the time, it could scarcely have mitigated the intense resentment of the whole Italian nation at an event which was considered tantamount not only to the destruction of Italian aspirations to Tunisia, but to the ruin of the interests of the numerous Italian colony and to a constant menace against the security of the Sicilian and south Italian coasts.

Had the blow thus struck at Italian influence in the Mediterranean induced politicians to sink for a while their personal differences and to unite in presenting a firm front to foreign nations, the crisis in regard to Tunisia might not have been wholly unproductive of good. Unfortunately, on this, as on other critical occasions, deputies proved themselves incapable of common effort to promote general welfare. While excitement over Tunisia was at its height, but before the situation was irretrievably compromised to the disadvantage of Italy, Cairoli had been compelled to resign by a vote of want of confidence in the Chamber. The only politician capable of dealing adequately with the situation was Sella, leader of the Right, and to him the crown appealed. The faction leaders of the Left, though divided by personal jealousies and mutually incompatible ambitions, agreed that the worst evil which could befall Italy would be the return of the Right to power, and conspired to preclude the possibility of a Sella cabinet. An attempt by Depretis to recompose the Cairoli ministry proved fruitless, and after eleven precious days had been lost, King Humbert was obliged, on the 19th of April 1881, to refuse Cairoli's resignation. The conclusion of the treaty of Bardo on the 12th of May, however, compelled Cairoli to sacrifice himself to popular indignation. Again Sella was called upon, but again the dog-in-the-manger policy of Depretis, Cairoli, Nicotera and Baccarini, in conjunction with the

ntolerant attitude of some extreme Conservatives, proved fatal to his endeavours. Depretis then succeeded in recomposing the Cairoli cabinet without Cairoli, Mancini being placed at the foreign office. Except in regard to an increase of the army estimates, urgently demanded by public opinion, the new ministry had practically no programme. Public opinion was further irritated against France by the massacre of some Italian workmen at Marseilles on the occasion of the return of the French expedition from Tunisia, and Depretis, in response to public feeling, found himself obliged to mobilize a part of the militia for military exercises. In this condition of home and foreign affairs occurred disorders at Rome in connexion with the transfer of the remains of Pius IX. from St Peter's to the basilica of San Lorenzo. Most of the responsibility lay with the Vatican, which had arranged the procession in the way best calculated to irritate Italian feeling, but little excuse can be offered for the failure of the Italian authorities to maintain public order. In conjunction with the occupation of Tunisia, the effect of these disorders was to exhibit Italy as a country powerless to defend its interests abroad or to keep peace at home. The scandal and the pressure of foreign Catholic opinion compelled Depretis to pursue a more energetic policy, and to publish a formal declaration of the intangibility of the Law of Guarantees.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

MEANWHILE a conviction was spreading that the only way of escape from the dangerous isolation of Italy lay in closer agreement with Austria and Germany. Depretis tardily recognized the need for such agreement, if only to remove "the coldness and invincible diffidence" which, by subsequent confession of Mancini, then characterized the attitude of the central powers; but he was opposed to any formal alliance, lest it might arouse French resentment, while the new Franco-Italian treaty was still uncompleted, and the foreign loan for the abolition of the forced currency had still to be floated. He, indeed, was not disposed to concede to public opinion anything beyond an increase of the army, a measure insistently demanded by Garibaldi and the Left. The Right likewise desired to strengthen both army and navy, but advocated cordial relations with Berlin and Vienna as a guarantee against French domineering, and as a pledge that Italy would be vouchsafed time to effect her armaments without disturbing financial equilibrium. The Right also hoped that closer accord with Germany and Austria would compel Italy to conform her home policy more nearly to the principles of order prevailing in those empires. More resolute than Right or Left was the Centre, a small group led by Sidney Sonnino, a young politician of unusual fibre, which sought in the press and in parliament to spread a conviction that the only sound basis for Italian policy would be close alliance with the central powers and a friendly understanding with Great Britain in regard to Mediterranean affairs. The principal Italian public men were divided in opinion on the subject of an alliance. Peruzzi, Lanza and Bonghi pleaded for equal friendship with all powers, and especially with France; Crispi, Minghetti, Cadorna and others, including Blanc, secretary-general to the foreign office, openly favoured a pro-Austrian policy. Austria and Germany, however, scarcely reciprocated these dispositions. The Irredentist agitation had left profound traces at Berlin as well as at Vienna, and had given rise to a distrust of Depretis which nothing had yet occurred to allay. Nor, in view of the comparative weakness of Italian armaments, could eagerness to find an ally be deemed conclusive proof of the value of Italian friendship. Count di Robilant, Italian ambassador at Vienna, warned his government not to yield too readily to pro-Austrian pressure, lest the dignity of Italy be compromised, or her desire for an alliance be granted on onerous terms. Mancini, foreign minister, who was as anxious as Depretis for the conclusion of the Franco-Italian commercial treaty, gladly followed this advice, and limited his efforts to the maintenance of correct diplomatic relations with the central powers. Except in regard to the Roman question, the advantages and disadvantages of an Italian alliance with Austria and Germany counterbalanced each other. A *rapprochement* with France and a continuance of the Irredentist movement could not fail to arouse Austro-German hostility; but, on the other hand, to draw near to the central powers would inevitably accentuate the diffidence of France. In the one hypothesis, as in the other, Italy could count upon the moral support of Great Britain, but could not make of British friendship the keystone of a Continental policy. Apart from resentment against France on account of Tunisia there remained the question of the temporal power of the pope to turn the scale in favour of Austria and Germany. Danger of foreign interference in the relations between Italy and the papacy had never been so great since the Italian occupation of Rome, as when, in the summer of 1881, the disorders during the transfer of the remains of Pius IX. had lent an unwonted ring of plausibility to the papal complaint concerning the

"miserable" position of the Holy See. Bismarck at that moment had entered upon his "pilgrimage to Canossa," and was anxious to obtain from the Vatican the support of German Catholics. What resistance could Italy have offered had the German chancellor, seconded by Austria, and assuredly supported by France, called upon Italy to revise the Law of Guarantees in conformity with Catholic exigencies, or had he taken the initiative of making papal independence the subject of an international conference? Friendship and alliance with Catholic Austria and powerful Germany could alone lay this spectre. This was the only immediate advantage Italy could hope to obtain by drawing nearer the central Powers.

The political conditions of Europe favoured the realization of Italian desires. Growing rivalry between Austria and Russia in the Balkans rendered the continuance of the "League of the Three Emperors" a practical impossibility. The Austro-German alliance of 1879 formally guaranteed the territory of the contracting parties, but Austria could not count upon effectual help from Germany in case of war, since Russian attack upon Austria would certainly have been followed by French attack upon Germany. As in 1869-1870, it therefore became a matter of the highest importance for Austria to retain full disposal of all her troops by assuring herself against Italian aggression. The tsar, Alexander III., under the impression of the assassination of his father, desired, however, the renewal of the *Dreikaiserbund*, both as a guarantee of European peace and as a conservative league against revolutionary parties. The German emperor shared this desire, but Bismarck and the Austrian emperor wished to substitute for the imperial league some more advantageous combination. Hence a tacit understanding between Bismarck and Austria that the latter should profit by Italian resentment against France to draw Italy into the orbit of the Austro-German alliance. For the moment Germany was to hold aloof lest any active initiative on her part should displease the Vatican, of whose help Bismarck stood in need.

At the beginning of August 1881 the Austrian press mooted the idea of a visit from King Humbert to the emperor Francis Joseph. Count di Robilant, anxious that Italy should not seem to beg a smile from the central Powers, advised Mancini to receive with caution the suggestions of the Austrian press. Depretis took occasion to deny, in a form scarcely courteous, the probability of the visit. Robilant's opposition to a precipitate acceptance of the Austrian hint was founded upon fear lest King Humbert at Vienna might be pressed to disavow Irredentist aspirations, and upon a desire to arrange for a visit of the emperor Francis Joseph to Rome in return for King Humbert's visit to Vienna. Seeing the hesitation of the Italian government, the Austrian and German semi-official press redoubled their efforts to bring about the visit. By the end of September the idea had gained such ground in Italy that the visit was practically settled, and on the 7th of October Mancini informed Robilant (who was then in Italy) of the fact. Though he considered such precipitation impolitic, Robilant, finding that confidential information of Italian intentions had already been conveyed to the Austrian government, sought an interview with King Humbert, and on the 17th of October started for Vienna to settle the conditions of the visit. Depretis, fearing to jeopardize the impending conclusion of the Franco-Italian commercial treaty, would have preferred the visit to take the form of an act of personal courtesy between sovereigns. The Austrian government, for its part, desired that the king should be accompanied by Depretis, though not by Mancini, lest the presence of the Italian foreign minister should lend to the occasion too marked a political character. Mancini, unable to brook exclusion, insisted, however, upon accompanying the king. King Humbert with Queen Margherita reached Vienna on the morning of the 27th of October, and stayed at the Hofburg until the 31st of October. The visit was marked by the greatest cordiality, Count Robilant's fears of inopportune pressure with regard to Irredentism proving groundless. Both in Germany and Austria the visit was construed as a preliminary to the adhesion of Italy to the Austro-German alliance. Count Hatzfeldt, on behalf of the German Foreign Office, informed the Italian ambassador in Berlin that whatever was done at Vienna would be regarded as having been done in the German capital. Nor did nascent irritation in France prevent the conclusion of the Franco-Italian commercial treaty, which was signed at Paris on the 3rd of November.

In Italy public opinion as a whole was favourable to the visit, especially as it was not considered an obstacle to the projected increase of the army and navy. Doubts, however, soon sprang up as to its effect upon the minds of Austrian statesmen, since on the 8th of November the language employed by Kallay and Count Andrássy to the Hungarian delegations on the subject of Irredentism was scarcely calculated to soothe Italian susceptibilities. But on 9th November the European situation was suddenly modified by the formation of the Gambetta cabinet, and, in view of the policy of revenge with which Gambetta was supposed to be identified, it became imperative for Bismarck to assure himself that Italy would not be enticed into a Francophil attitude by any concession Gambetta might offer. As usual when dealing with weaker nations, the German chancellor resorted to intimidation. He not only re-established the Prussian legation to the Vatican, suppressed since 1874 and omitted from the imperial message to the Reichstag (17th November 1881) all reference to King Humbert's visit to Vienna, but took occasion on

the 29th of November to refer to Italy as a country tottering on the verge of revolution, and opened in the German semi-official press a campaign in favour of an international guarantee for the independence of the papacy. These manœuvres produced their effect upon Italian public opinion. In the long and important debate upon foreign policy in the Italian Chamber of Deputies (6th to 9th December) the fear was repeatedly expressed lest Bismarck should seek to purchase the support of German Catholics by raising the Roman question. Mancini, still unwilling frankly to adhere to the Austro-German alliance, found his policy of "friendship all round" impeded by Gambetta's uncompromising attitude in regard to Tunisia. Bismarck nevertheless continued his press campaign in favour of the temporal power until, reassured by Gambetta's decision to send Roustan back to Tunis to complete as minister the anti-Italian programme begun as consul, he finally instructed his organs to emphasize the common interests of Germany and Italy on the occasion of the opening of the St Gotthard tunnel. But the effect of the German press campaign could not be effaced in a day. At the new year's reception of deputies King Humbert aroused enthusiasm by a significant remark that Italy intended to remain "mistress in her own house"; while Mancini addressed to count de Launay, Italian ambassador in Berlin, a haughty despatch, repudiating the supposition that the pope might (as Bismarckian emissaries had suggested to the Vatican) obtain abroad greater spiritual liberty than in Rome, or that closer relations between Italy and Germany, such as were required by the interests and aspirations of the two countries, could be made in any way contingent upon a modification of Italian freedom of action in regard to home affairs.

The sudden fall of Gambetta (26th January 1882) having removed the fear of immediate European complications, the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna again displayed diffidence towards Italy. So great was Bismarck's distrust of Italian parliamentary instability, his doubts of Italian capacity for offensive warfare and his fear of the Francophil tendencies of Depretis, that for many weeks the Italian ambassador at Berlin was unable to obtain audience of the chancellor. But for the Tunisian question Italy might again have been drawn into the wake of France. Mancini tried to impede the organization of French rule in the Regency by refusing to recognize the treaty of Bardo, yet so careless was Bismarck of Italian susceptibilities that he instructed the German consul at Tunis to recognize French decrees. Partly under the influence of these circumstances, and partly in response to persuasion by Baron Blanc, secretary-general for foreign affairs, Mancini instructed Count di Robilant to open negotiations for an Italo-Austrian alliance—instructions which Robilant neglected until questioned by Count Kalnóky on the subject. The first exchange of ideas between the two Governments proved fruitless, since Kalnóky, somewhat Clerical-minded, was averse from guaranteeing the integrity of all Italian territory, and Mancini was equally unwilling to guarantee to Austria permanent possession of Trent and Trieste. Mancini, moreover, wished the treaty of alliance to provide for reciprocal protection of the chief interests of the contracting Powers, Italy undertaking to second Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, and Austria and Germany pledging themselves to support Italy in Mediterranean questions. Without some such proviso Italy would, in Mancini's opinion, be exposed single-handed to French resentment. At the request of Kalnóky, Mancini defined his proposal in a memorandum, but the illness of himself and Depretis, combined with an untoward discussion in the Italian press on the failure of the Austrian emperor to return in Rome King Humbert's visit to Vienna, caused negotiations to drag. The pope, it transpired, had refused to receive the emperor if he came to Rome on a visit to the Quirinal, and Francis Joseph, though anxious to return King Humbert's visit, was unable to offend the feelings of his Catholic subjects. Meanwhile (11th May 1882) the Italian parliament adopted the new Army Bill, involving a special credit of £5,100,000 for the creation of two new army corps, by which the war footing of the regular army was raised to nearly 850,000 men and the ordinary military estimates to £8,000,000 per annum. Garibaldi, who, since the French occupation of Tunis, had ardently worked for the increase of the army, had thus the satisfaction of seeing his desire realized before his death at Caprera, on the 2nd of June 1882. "In spirit a child, in character a man of classic mould," Garibaldi had remained the nation's idol, an almost legendary hero whose place none could aspire to fill. Gratitude for his achievements and sorrow for his death found expression in universal mourning wherein king and peasant equally joined. Before his death, and almost contemporaneously with the passing of the Army Bill, negotiations for the alliance were renewed. Encouraged from Berlin, Kalnóky agreed to the reciprocal territorial guarantee, but declined reciprocity in support of special interests. Mancini had therefore to be content with a declaration that the allies would act in mutually friendly intelligence. Depretis made some opposition, but finally acquiesced, and the treaty of triple alliance was signed on the 20th of May 1882, five days after the promulgation of the Franco-Italian commercial treaty in Paris. Though partial revelations have been made, the exact tenor of the treaty of triple alliance has never been divulged. It is known to have been concluded for a period of five years, to have pledged the contracting parties to join in resisting attack upon the territory of any one of them, and to have specified the military disposition to be adopted by each in case attack should come either from France, or from Russia, or from both simultaneously. The Italian General Staff is said to have undertaken, in the event

of war against France, to operate with two armies on the north-western frontier against the French armée des Alpes, of which the war strength is about 250,000 men. A third Italian army would, if expedient, pass into Germany, to operate against either France or Russia. Austria undertook to guard the Adriatic on land and sea, and to help Germany by checkmating Russia on land. Germany would be sufficiently employed in carrying on war against two fronts. Kalnóky desired that both the terms of the treaty and the fact of its conclusion should remain secret, but Bismarck and Mancini hastened to hint at its existence, the former in the Reichstag on the 12th of June 1882, and the latter in the Italian semi-official press. A revival of Irredentism in connexion with the execution of an Austrian deserter named Oberdank, who after escaping into Italy endeavoured to return to Austria with explosive bombs in his possession, and the cordial references to France made by Depretis at Stradella (8th October 1882), prevented the French government from suspecting the existence of the alliance, or from ceasing to strive after a Franco-Italian understanding. Suspicion was not aroused until March 1883, when Mancini, in defending himself against strictures upon his refusal to co-operate with Great Britain in Egypt, practically revealed the existence of the treaty, thereby irritating France and destroying Depretis's secret hope of finding in the triple alliance the advantage of an Austro-German guarantee without the disadvantage of French enmity. In Italy the revelation of the treaty was hailed with satisfaction except by the Clericals, who were enraged at the blow thus struck at the restoration of the pope's temporal power, and by the Radicals, who feared both the inevitable breach with republican France and the reinforcement of Italian constitutional parties by intimacy with strong monarchical states such as Germany and Austria. These very considerations naturally combined to recommend the fact to constitutionalists, who saw in it, besides the territorial guarantee, the elimination of the danger of foreign interference in the relations between Italy and the Vatican, such as Bismarck had recently threatened and such as France was believed ready to propose.

Nevertheless, during its first period (1882-1887) the triple alliance failed to ensure cordiality between the contracting Powers. Mancini exerted himself in a hundred ways to soothe French resentment. He not only refused to join Great Britain in the Egyptian expedition, but agreed to suspend Italian consular jurisdiction in Tunis, and deprecated suspicion of French designs upon Morocco. His efforts were worse than futile. France remained cold, while Bismarck and Kalnóky, distrustful of the Radicalism of Depretis and Mancini, assumed towards their ally an attitude almost hostile. Possibly Germany and Austria may have been influenced by the secret treaty signed between Austria, Germany and Russia on the 21st of March 1884, and ratified during the meeting of the three emperors at Skierniewice in September of that year, by which Bismarck, in return for "honest brokerage" in the Balkans, is understood to have obtained from Austria and Russia a promise of benevolent neutrality in case Germany should be "forced" to make war upon a fourth power—France. Guaranteed thus against Russian attack, Italy became in the eyes of the central powers a negligible quantity, and was treated accordingly. Though kept in the dark as to the Skierniewice arrangement, the Italian government soon discovered from the course of events that the triple alliance had practically lost its object, European peace having been assured without Italian co-operation. Meanwhile France provided Italy with fresh cause for uneasiness by abating her hostility to Germany. Italy in consequence drew nearer to Great Britain, and at the London conference on the Egyptian financial question sided with Great Britain against Austria and Germany. At the same time negotiations took place with Great Britain for an Italian occupation of Massawa, and Mancini, dreaming of a vast Anglo-Italian enterprise against the Mahdi, expatiated in the spring of 1885 upon the glories of an Anglo-Italian alliance, an indiscretion which drew upon him a scarcely-veiled *démenti* from London. Again speaking in the Chamber, Mancini claimed for Italy the principal merit in the conclusion of the triple alliance, but declared that the alliance left Italy full liberty of action in regard to interests outside its scope, 'especially as there was no possibility of obtaining protection for such interests from those who by the alliance had not undertaken to protect them.' These words, which revealed the absence of any stipulation in regard to the protection of Italian interests in the Mediterranean, created lively dissatisfaction in Italy and corresponding satisfaction in France. They hastened Mancini's downfall (17th June 1885), and prepared the advent of count di Robilant, who three months later succeeded Mancini at the Italian Foreign Office. Robilant, for whom the Skierniewice pact was no secret, followed a firmly independent policy throughout the Bulgarian crisis of 1885-1886, declining to be drawn into any action beyond that required by the treaty of Berlin and the protection of Italian interests in the Balkans. Italy, indeed, came out of the Eastern crisis with enhanced prestige and with her relations to Austria greatly improved. Towards Prince Bismarck Robilant maintained an attitude of dignified independence, and as, in the spring of 1886, the moment for the renewal of the triple alliance drew near, he profited by the development of the Bulgarian crisis and the threatened Franco-Russian understanding to secure from the central powers "something more" than the bare territorial guarantee of the original treaty. This "something more" consisted, at least in part, of the arrangement, with the help of Austria and Germany, of an Anglo-Italian naval understanding having special reference to the Eastern

question, but providing for common action by the British and Italian fleets in the Mediterranean in case of war. A vote of the Italian Chamber on the 4th of February 1887, in connexion with the disaster to Italian troops at Dogali, in Abyssinia, brought about the resignation of the Depretis-Robilant cabinet. The crisis dragged for three months, and before its definitive solution by the formation of a Depretis-Crispi ministry, Robilant succeeded (17th March 1887) in renewing the triple alliance on terms more favourable to Italy than those obtained in 1882. Not only did he secure concessions from Austria and Germany corresponding in some degree to the improved state of the Italian army and navy, but, in virtue of the Anglo-Italian understanding, assured the practical adhesion of Great Britain to the European policy of the central powers, a triumph probably greater than any registered by Italian diplomacy since the completion of national unity.

CHAPTER IX

HOME AND COLONIAL POLICY

THE period between May 1881 and July 1887 occupied, in the region of foreign affairs, by the negotiation, conclusion and renewal of the triple alliance, by the Bulgarian crisis and by the dawn of an Italian colonial policy, was marked at home by urgent political and economic problems, and by the parliamentary phenomena known as *transformismo*. On the 29th of June 1881 the Chamber adopted a Franchise Reform Bill, which increased the electorate from 600,000 to 2,000,000 by lowering the fiscal qualification from 40 to 19'80 lire in direct taxation, and by extending the suffrage to all persons who had passed through the two lower standards of the elementary schools, and practically to all persons able to read and write. The immediate result of the reform was to increase the political influence of large cities where the proportion of illiterate workmen was lower than in the country districts, and to exclude from the franchise numbers of peasants and small proprietors who, though of more conservative temperament and of better economic position than the artizan population of the large towns, were often unable to fulfil the scholarship qualification. On the 12th of April 1883 the forced currency was formally abolished by the resumption of treasury payments in gold with funds obtained through a loan of £14,500,000 issued in London on the 5th of May 1882. Owing to the hostility of the French market, the loan was covered with difficulty, and, though the gold premium fell and commercial exchanges were temporarily facilitated by the resumption of cash payments, it is doubtful whether these advantages made up for the burden of £640,000 additional annual interest thrown upon the exchequer. On the 6th of March 1885 parliament finally sanctioned the conventions by which state railways were farmed out to three private companies—the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Sicilian. The railways redeemed in 1875–1876 had been worked in the interval by the government at a heavy loss. A commission of inquiry reported in favour of private management. The conventions, concluded for a period of sixty years, but terminable by either party after twenty or forty years, retained for the state the possession of the lines (except the southern railway, viz. the line from Bologna to Brindisi belonging to the Società Meridionale to whom the Adriatic lines were now farmed), but sold rolling stock to the companies, arranged various schedules of state subsidy for lines projected or in course of construction, guaranteed interest on the bonds of the companies and arranged for the division of revenue between the companies, the reserve fund and the state. National control of the railways was secured by a proviso that the directors must be of Italian nationality. Depretis and his colleague Genala, minister of public works, experienced great difficulty in securing parliamentary sanction for the conventions, not so much on account of their defective character, as from the opposition of local interests anxious to extort new lines from the government. In fact, the conventions were only voted by a majority of twenty-three votes after the government had undertaken to increase the length of new state-built lines from 1500 to 2500 kilometres. Unfortunately, the calculation of probable railway revenue on which the conventions had been based proved to be enormously exaggerated. For many years the 37½ % of the gross revenue (less the cost of maintaining the rolling stock, incumbent on the state) scarcely sufficed to pay the interest on debts incurred for railway construction and on the guaranteed bonds. Gradually the increase of traffic consequent upon the industrial development of Italy decreased the annual losses of the state, but the position of the government in regard to the railways still remained so

unsatisfactory as to render the resumption of the whole system by the state on the expiration of the first period of twenty years in 1905 inevitable.

Intimately bound up with the forced currency, the railway conventions and public works was the financial question in general. From 1876, when equilibrium between expenditure and revenue had first been attained, taxation yielded steady annual surpluses, which in 1881 reached the satisfactory level of £2,120,000. The gradual abolition of the grist tax on minor cereals diminished the surplus in 1882 to £236,000, and in 1883 to £110,000, while the total repeal of the grist tax on wheat, which took effect on the 1st of January 1884, coincided with the opening of a new and disastrous period of deficit. True, the repeal of the grist tax was not the only, nor possibly even the principal, cause of the deficit. The policy of "fiscal transformation" inaugurated by the Left increased revenue from indirect taxation from £17,000,000 in 1876 to more than £24,000,000 in 1887, by substituting heavy corn duties for the grist tax, and by raising the sugar and petroleum duties to unprecedented levels. But partly from lack of firm financial administration, partly through the increase of military and naval expenditure (which in 1887 amounted to £9,000,000 for the army, while special efforts were made to strengthen the navy), and principally through the constant drain of railway construction and public works, the demands upon the exchequer grew largely to exceed the normal increase of revenue, and necessitated the contraction of new debts. In their anxiety to remain in office Depretis and the finance minister, Magliani, never hesitated to mortgage the financial future of their country. No concession could be denied to deputies, or groups of deputies, whose support was indispensable to the life of the cabinet, nor, under such conditions, was it possible to place any effective check upon administrative abuses in which politicians or their electors were interested. Railways, roads and harbours which contractors had undertaken to construct for reasonable amounts were frequently made to cost thrice the original estimates. Minghetti, in a trenchant exposure of the parliamentary condition of Italy during this period, cites a case in which a credit for certain public works was, during a debate in the Chamber, increased by the government from £6,600,000 to £9,000,000 in order to conciliate local political interests. In the spring of 1887 Genala, minister of public works, was taken to task for having sanctioned expenditure of £80,000,000 on railway construction while only £40,000,000 had been included in the estimates. As most of these credits were spread over a series of years, succeeding administrations found their financial liberty of action destroyed, and were obliged to cover deficit by constant issues of consolidated stock. Thus the deficit of £940,000 for the financial year 1885-1886 rose to nearly £2,920,000 in 1887-1888, and in 1888-1889 attained the terrible level of £9,400,000.

Nevertheless, in spite of many and serious shortcomings, the long series of Depretis administrations was marked by the adoption of some useful measures. Besides the realization of the formal programme of the Left, consisting of the repeal of the grist tax, the abolition of the forced currency, the extension of the suffrage, and the development of the railway system, Depretis laid the foundation for land tax re-assessment by introducing a new cadastral survey. Unfortunately, the new survey was made largely optional, so that provinces which had reason to hope for a diminution of land tax under a revised assessment hastened to complete their survey, while others, in which the average of the land tax was below a normal assessment, neglected to comply with the provisions of the scheme. An important undertaking, known as the Agricultural Inquiry, brought to light vast quantities of information valuable for future agrarian legislation. The year 1885 saw the introduction and adoption of a measure embodying the principle of employers' liability for accidents to workmen, a principle subsequently extended and more equitably defined in the spring of 1899. An effort to encourage the development of the mercantile marine was made in the same year, and a convention was concluded with the chief lines of passenger steamers to retain their fastest vessels as auxiliaries to the fleet in case of war. Sanitation and public hygiene received a potent impulse from the cholera epidemic of 1884, many of the unhealthiest quarters in Naples and other cities being demolished and rebuilt, with funds chiefly furnished by the state. The movement was strongly supported by King Humbert, whose intrepidity in visiting the most dangerous spots at Busca and Naples while the epidemic was at its height, reassuring the panic-stricken inhabitants by his presence, excited the enthusiasm of his people and the admiration of Europe.

During the accomplishment of these and other reforms the condition of parliament underwent profound change. By degrees the administrations of the Left had ceased to rely solely upon the Liberal sections of the Chamber, and had carried their most important bills with the help of the Right. This process of transformation was not exclusively the work of Depretis, but had been initiated as early as 1873, when a portion of the Right under Minghetti had, by joining the Left, overturned the Lanza-Sella cabinet. In 1876 Minghetti himself had fallen a victim to a similar defection of Conservative deputies. The practical annihilation of the old Right in the elections of 1876 opened a new parliamentary era. Reduced in number to less than one hundred, and radically changed in spirit and composition, the Right gave way, if not to despair, at least to a despondency unsuited to an opposition party. Though on more than one occasion personal rancour against the men of the Moderate Left prevented the Right from following Sella's advice and regaining, by

timely coalition with cognate parliamentary elements, a portion of its former influence, the bulk of the party, with singular inconsistency, drew nearer and nearer to the Liberal cabinets. The process was accelerated by Sella's illness and death (14th March 1884), an event which cast profound discouragement over the more thoughtful of the Conservatives and Moderate Liberals, by whom Sella had been regarded as a supreme political reserve, as a statesman whose experienced vigour and patriotic sagacity might have been trusted to lift Italy from any depth of folly or misfortune. By a strange anomaly the Radical measures brought forward by the Left diminished instead of increasing the distance between it and the Conservatives. Numerically insufficient to reject such measures, and lacking the fibre and the cohesion necessary for the pursuance of a far-sighted policy, the Right thought prudent not to employ its strength in uncompromising opposition, but rather, by supporting the government, to endeavour to modify Radical legislation in a Conservative sense. In every case the calculation proved fallacious. Radical measures were passed unmodified, and the Right was compelled sadly to accept the accomplished fact. Thus it was with the abolition of the grist tax, the reform of the suffrage, the railway conventions and many other bills. When, in course of time, the extended suffrage increased the Republican and Extreme Radical elements in the Chamber, and the Liberal "Pentarchy" (composed of Crispi, Cairoli, Nicotera, Zanardelli and Baccarini) assumed an attitude of bitter hostility to Depretis, the Right, obeying the impulse of Minghetti, rallied openly to Depretis, lending him aid without which his prolonged term of office would have been impossible. The result was parliamentary chaos, baptized *trasformismo*. In May 1883 this process received official recognition by the elimination of the Radicals Zanardelli and Baccarini from the Depretis cabinet, while in the course of 1884 a Conservative, Signor Biancheri, was elected to the presidency of the Chamber, and another Conservative, General Ricotti, appointed to the War Office. Though Depretis, at the end of his life in 1887, showed signs of repenting of the confusion thus created, he had established a parliamentary system destined largely to sterilize and vitiate the political life of Italy.

Contemporaneously with the vicissitudes of home and foreign policy under the Left there grew up in Italy a marked tendency towards colonial enterprise. The tendency itself dated from 1869, when a congress of the Italian chambers of commerce at Genoa had urged the Lanza cabinet to establish a commercial dépôt on the Red Sea. On the 11th of March 1870 an Italian shipper, Signor Rubattino, had bought the bay of Assab, with the neighbouring island of Darmakieh, from Beheran, sultan of Raheita, for £1880, the funds being furnished by the government. The Egyptian government being unwilling to recognize the sovereignty of Beheran over Assab or his right to sell territory to a foreign power Visconti-Venosta thought it opportune not then to occupy Assab. No further step was taken until, at the end of 1879, Rubattino prepared to establish a commercial station at Assab. The British government made inquiry as to his intentions, and on the 19th of April 1880 received a formal undertaking from Cairoli that Assab would never be fortified nor be made a military establishment. Meanwhile (January 1880) stores and materials were landed, and Assab was permanently occupied. Eighteen months later a party of Italian sailors and explorers under Lieutenant Biglieri and Signor Giulietti were massacred in Egyptian territory. Egypt, however, refused to make thorough inquiry into the massacre, and was only prevented from occupying Raheita and coming into conflict with Italy by the good offices of Lord Granville, who dissuaded the Egyptian government from enforcing its sovereignty. On the 20th of September 1881 Beheran formally accepted Italian protection, and in the following February an Anglo-Italian convention established the Italian title to Assab on condition that Italy should formally recognize the suzerainty of the Porte and of the khedive over the Red Sea coast, and should prevent the transport of arms and munitions of war through the territory of Assab. This convention was never recognized by the Porte nor by the Egyptian government. A month later (10th March 1882) Rubattino made over his establishment to the Italian government, and on the 12th of June the Chamber adopted a bill constituting Assab an Italian crown colony.

Within four weeks of the adoption of this bill the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet (11th July 1882) opened an era destined profoundly to affect the colonial position of Italy. The revolt of Arabi Pasha (September 1881) had led to the meeting of an ambassadorial conference at Constantinople, promoted by Mancini, Italian minister for foreign affairs, in the hope of preventing European intervention in Egypt and the permanent establishment of an Anglo-French condominium to the detriment of Italian influence. At the opening of the conference (23rd June 1882) Italy secured the signature of a self-denying protocol whereby all the great powers undertook to avoid isolated action; but the rapid development of the crisis in Egypt, and the refusal of France to co-operate with Great Britain in the restoration of order, necessitated vigorous action by the latter alone. In view of the French refusal, Lord Granville on the 27th of July invited Italy to join in restoring order in Egypt; but Mancini and Depretis, in spite of the efforts of Crispi, then in London, declined the offer. Financial considerations, lack of proper transports for an expeditionary corps, fear of displeasing France, dislike of a "policy of adventure," misplaced deference towards the ambassadorial conference in Constantinople, and unwillingness to thwart the current of Italian sentiment in favour of the Egyptian "nationalists," were the

chief motives of the Italian refusal, which had the effect of somewhat estranging Great Britain and Italy. Anglo-Italian relations, however, regained their normal cordiality two years later, and found expression in the support lent by Italy to the British proposal at the London conference on the Egyptian question (July 1884). About the same time Mancini was informed by the Italian agent in Cairo that Great Britain would be well disposed towards an extension of Italian influence on the Red Sea coast. Having sounded Lord Granville, Mancini received encouragement to seize Beilul and Massawa, in view of the projected restriction of the Egyptian zone of military occupation consequent on the Mahdist rising in the Sudan. Lord Granville further inquired whether Italy would co-operate in pacifying the Sudan, and received an affirmative reply. Italian action was hastened by news that, in December 1884, an exploring party under Signor Bianchi, royal commissioner for Assab, had been massacred in the Aussa (Danakil) country, an event which aroused in Italy a desire to punish the assassins and to obtain satisfaction for the still unpunished massacre of Signor Giulietti and his companions. Partly to satisfy public opinion, partly in order to profit by the favourable disposition of the British government, and partly in the hope of remedying the error committed in 1882 by refusal to co-operate with Great Britain in Egypt, the Italian government in January 1885 despatched an expedition under Admiral Caimi and Colonel Saletta to occupy Massawa and Beilul. The occupation, effected on the 5th of February, was accelerated by fear lest Italy might be forestalled by France or Russia, both of which powers were suspected of desiring to establish themselves firmly on the Red Sea and to exercise a protectorate over Abyssinia. News of the occupation reached Europe simultaneously with the tidings of the fall of Khartum, an event which disappointed Italian hopes of military co-operation with Great Britain in the Sudan. The resignation of the Gladstone-Granville cabinet further precluded the projected Italian occupation of Suakin, and the Italians, wisely refraining from an independent attempt to succour Kassala, then besieged by the Mahdists, bent their efforts to the increase of their zone of occupation around Massawa. The extension of the Italian zone excited the suspicions of John, negus of Abyssinia, whose apprehensions were assiduously fomented by Alula, ras of Tigre, and by French and Greek adventurers. Measures, apparently successful, were taken to reassure the negus, but shortly afterwards protection inopportunistically accorded by Italy to enemies of Ras Alula, induced the Abyssinians to enter upon hostilities. In January 1886 Ras Alula raided the village of Wa, to the west of Zula, but towards the end of the year (23rd November) Wa was occupied by the irregular troops of General Gené, who had superseded Colonel Saletta at Massawa. Angered by this step, Ras Alula took prisoners the members of an Italian exploring party commanded by Count Salimbeni, and held them as hostages for the evacuation of Wa. General Gené nevertheless reinforced Wa and pushed forward a detachment to Saati. On the 25th of January 1887 Ras Alula attacked Saati, but was repulsed with loss. On the following day, however, the Abyssinians succeeded in surprising, near the village of Dogali, an Italian force of 524 officers and men under Colonel De Cristoforis, who were conveying provisions to the garrison of Saati. The Abyssinians, 20,000 strong, speedily overwhelmed the small Italian force, which, after exhausting its ammunition, was destroyed where it stood. One man only escaped. Four hundred and seven men and twenty-three officers were killed outright, and one officer and eighty-one men wounded. Dead and wounded alike were horribly mutilated by order of Alula. Fearing a new attack, General Gené withdrew his forces from Saati, Wa and Arafali; but the losses of the Abyssinians at Saati and Dogali had been so heavy as to dissuade Alula from further hostilities.

In Italy the disaster of Dogali produced consternation, and caused the fall of the Depretis-Robilant cabinet. The Chamber, eager for revenge, voted a credit of £200,000, and sanctioned the despatch of reinforcements. Meanwhile Signor Crispi, who, though averse from colonial adventure, desired to vindicate Italian honour, entered the Depretis cabinet as minister of the interior, and obtained from parliament a new credit of £800,000. In November 1887 a strong expedition under General di San Marzano raised the strength of the Massawa garrison to nearly 20,000 men. The British government, desirous of preventing an Italo-Abyssinian conflict, which could but strengthen the position of the Mahdists, despatched Mr (afterwards Sir) Gerald Portal from Massawa on the 29th of October to mediate with the negus. The mission proved fruitless. Portal returned to Massawa on the 25th of December 1887, and warned the Italians that John was preparing to attack them in the following spring with an army of 100,000 men. On the 28th of March 1888 the negus indeed descended from the Abyssinian high plateau in the direction of Saati, but finding the Italian position too strong to be carried by assault, temporized and opened negotiations for peace. His tactics failed to entice the Italians from their position, and on the 3rd of April sickness among his men compelled John to withdraw the Abyssinian army. The negus next marched against Menelek, king of Shoa, whose neutrality Italy had purchased with 5000 Remington rifles and a supply of ammunition, but found him with 80,000 men too strongly entrenched to be successfully attacked. Tidings of a new Mahdist incursion into Abyssinian territory reaching the negus induced him to postpone the settlement of his quarrel with Menelek until the dervishes had been chastised. Marching towards the Blue Nile, he joined battle with the Mahdists, but on the 10th of March 1889 was killed,

in the hour of victory, near Gallabat. His death gave rise to an Abyssinian war of succession between Mangashà, natural son of John, and Menelek, grandson of the Negus Sella-Sellassié. Menelek, by means of Count Antonelli, resident in the Shoa country, requested Italy to execute a diversion in his favour by occupying Asmarà and other points on the high plateau. Antonelli profited by the situation to obtain Menelek's signature to a treaty fixing the frontiers of the Italian colony and defining Italo-Abyssinian relations. The treaty, signed at Ucciali on the 2nd of May 1889, arranged for regular intercourse between Italy and Abyssinia and conceded to Italy a portion of the high plateau, with the positions of Halai, Saganeiti and Asmarà. The main point of the treaty, however, lay in clause 17:—

“ His Majesty the king of kings of Ethiopia *consents* to make use of the government of His Majesty the king of Italy for the treatment of all questions concerning other powers and governments.”

Upon this clause Italy founded her claim to a protectorate over Abyssinia. In September 1889 the treaty of Ucciali was ratified in Italy by Menelek's lieutenant, the Ras Makonnen. Makonnen further concluded with the Italian premier, Crispi, a convention whereby Italy recognized Menelek as emperor of Ethiopia, Menelek recognized the Italian colony, and arranged for a special Italo-Abyssinian currency and for a loan. On the 11th of October Italy communicated article 17 of the treaty of Ucciali to the European powers, interpreting it as a valid title to an Italian protectorate over Abyssinia. Russia alone neglected to take note of the communication, and persisted in the hostile attitude she had assumed at the moment of the occupation of Massawa. Meanwhile the Italian mint coined thalers bearing the portrait of King Humbert, with an inscription referring to the Italian protectorate, and on the 1st of January 1890 a royal decree conferred upon the colony the name of “ Eritrea.”

In the colony itself General Baldissera, who had replaced General Saletta, delayed the movement against Mangashà desired by Menelek. The Italian general would have preferred to wait until his intervention was requested by both pretenders to the Abyssinian throne. Pressed by the home government, he, however, instructed a native ally to occupy the important positions of Keren and Asmarà, and prepared himself to take the offensive against Mangashà and Ras Alula. The latter retreated south of the river Mareb, leaving the whole of the cis-Mareb territory, including the provinces of Hamasen, Agameh, Seraè and Okulè-Kusai, in Italian hands. General Orero, successor of Baldissera, pushed offensive action more vigorously, and on the 26th of January 1890 entered Adowa, a city considerably to the south of the Mareb—an imprudent step which aroused Menelek's suspicions, and had hurriedly to be retraced. Mangashà, seeing further resistance to be useless, submitted to Menelek, who at the end of February ratified at Makallé the additional convention to the treaty of Ucciali, but refused to recognize the Italian occupation of the Mareb. The negus, however, conformed to article 17 of the treaty of Ucciali by requesting Italy to represent Abyssinia at the Brussels anti-slavery conference, an act which strengthened Italian illusions as to Menelek's readiness to submit to their protectorate. Menelek had previously notified the chief European powers of his coronation at Entotto (14th December 1889), but Germany and Great Britain replied that such notification should have been made through the Italian government. Germany, moreover, wounded Menelek's pride by employing merely the title of “ highness.” The negus took advantage of the incident to protest against the Italian text of article 17, and to contend that the Amharic text contained no equivalent for the word “ *consent*,” but merely stipulated that Abyssinia “ *might* ” make use of Italy in her relations with foreign powers. On the 28th of October 1890 Count Antonelli, negotiator of the treaty, was despatched to settle the controversy, but on arriving at Adis Ababa, the new residence of the negus, found agreement impossible either with regard to the frontier or the protectorate. On the 10th of April 1891, Menelek communicated to the powers his views with regard to the Italian frontier, and announced his intention of re-establishing the ancient boundaries of Ethiopia as far as Khartum to the north-west and Victoria Nyanza to the south. Meanwhile the marquis di Rudini, who had succeeded Crispi as Italian premier, had authorized the abandonment of article 17 even before he had heard of the failure of Antonelli's negotiations. Rudini was glad to leave the whole dispute in abeyance and to make with the local ras, or chieftains, of the high plateau an arrangement securing for Italy the cis-Mareb provinces of Seraè and Okulè-Kusai under the rule of an allied native chief named Bath-Agos. Rudini, however, was able to conclude two protocols with Great Britain (March and April 1891) whereby the British government definitely recognized Abyssinia as within the Italian sphere of influence in return for an Italian recognition of British rights in the Upper Nile.

CHAPTER X

FIRST CRISPI CABINET

THE period 1887-1890 was marked in Italy by great political activity. The entry of Crispi into the Depretis cabinet as minister of the interior (4th April 1887) introduced into the government an element of vigour which had long been lacking. Though sixty-eight years of age, Crispi possessed an activity, a rapidity of decision and an energy in execution with which none of his contemporaries could vie. Within four months the death of Depretis (29th July 1887) opened for Crispi the way to the premiership. Besides assuming the presidency of the council of ministers and retaining the ministry of the interior, Crispi took over the portfolio of foreign affairs which Depretis had held since the resignation of Count di Robilant. One of the first questions with which he had to deal was that of conciliation between Italy and the Vatican. At the end of May the pope, in an allocution to the cardinals, had spoken of Italy in terms of unusual cordiality, and had expressed a wish for peace. A few days later Signor Bonghi, one of the framers of the Law of Guarantees, published in the *Nuova Antologia* a plea for reconciliation on the basis of an amendment to the Law of Guarantees and recognition by the pope of the Italian title to Rome. The chief incident of the movement towards conciliation consisted, however, in the publication of a pamphlet entitled *La Conciliazione* by Father Tosti, a close friend and confidant of the pope, extolling the advantages of peace between Vatican and Quirinal. Tosti's pamphlet was known to represent papal ideas, and Tosti himself was *persona grata* to the Italian government. Reconciliation seemed within sight when suddenly Tosti's pamphlet was placed on the Index, ostensibly on account of a phrase, "The whole of Italy entered Rome by the breach of Porta Pia; the king cannot restore Rome to the pope, since Rome belongs to the Italian people." On the 4th of June 1887 the official Vatican organ, the *Osservatore Romano*, published a letter written by Tosti to the pope conditionally retracting the views expressed in the pamphlet. The letter had been written at the pope's request, on the understanding that it should not be published. On the 15th of June the pope addressed to Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro, secretary of state, a letter reiterating in uncompromising terms the papal claim to the temporal power, and at the end of July Cardinal Rampolla reformulated the same claim in a circular to the papal nuncios abroad. The dream of conciliation was at an end, but the Tosti incident had served once more to illustrate the true position of the Vatican in regard to Italy. It became clear that neither the influence of the regular clergy, of which the Society of Jesus is the most powerful embodiment, nor that of foreign clerical parties, which largely control the Peter's Pence fund, would ever permit renunciation of the papal claim to temporal power. France and the French Catholics especially, feared lest conciliation should diminish the reliance of the Vatican upon France, and consequently French hold over the Vatican. The Vatican, for its part, felt its claim to temporal power to be too valuable a pecuniary asset and too efficacious an instrument of church discipline lightly to be thrown away. The legend of an "imprisoned pope," subject to every whim of his gaolers, had never failed to arouse the pity and loosen the purse-strings of the faithful; dangerous innovators and would-be reformers within the church could be compelled to bow before the symbol of the temporal power, and their spirit of submission tested by their readiness to forgo the realization of their aims until the head of the church should be restored to his rightful domain. More important than all was the interest of the Roman curia, composed almost exclusively of Italians, to retain in its own hands the choice of the pontiff and to maintain the predominance of

the Italian element and the Italian spirit in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Conciliation with Italy would expose the pope and his Italian *entourage* to suspicion of being unduly subject to Italian political influence—of being, in a word, more Italian than Catholic. Such a suspicion would inevitably lead to a movement in favour of the internationalization of the curia and of the papacy. In order to avoid this danger it was therefore necessary to refuse all compromise, and, by perpetual reiteration of a claim incompatible with Italian territorial unity, to prove to the church at large that the pope and the curia were more Catholic than Italian. Such rigidity of principle need not be extended to the affairs of everyday contact between the Vatican and the Italian authorities, with regard to which, indeed, a tacit *modus vivendi* was easily attainable. Italy, for her part, could not go back upon the achievements of the Risorgimento by restoring Rome or any portion of Italian territory to the pope. She had hoped by conciliation to arrive at an understanding which should have ranged the church among the conservative and not among the disruptive forces of the country, but she was keenly desirous to retain the papacy as a preponderantly Italian institution, and was ready to make whatever formal concessions might have appeared necessary to reassure foreign Catholics concerning the reality of the pope's spiritual independence. The failure of the conciliation movement left profound irritation between Vatican and Quirinal, an irritation which, on the Vatican side, found expression in vivacious protests and in threats of leaving Rome; and, on the Italian side, in the deposition of the syndic of Rome for having visited the cardinal-vicar, in the anti-clerical provisions of the new penal code, and in the inauguration (9th June 1889) of a monument to Giordano Bruno on the very site of his martyrdom.

The internal situation inherited by Crispi from Depretis was very unsatisfactory. Extravagant expenditure on railways and public works, loose administration of finance, the cost of colonial enterprise, the growing demands for the army and navy, the impending tariff war with France, and the over-speculation in building and in industrial ventures, which had absorbed all the floating capital of the country, had combined to produce a state of affairs calling for firm and radical treatment. Crispi, burdened by the premiership and by the two most important portfolios in the cabinet, was, however, unable to exercise efficient control over all departments of state. Nevertheless his administration was by no means unfruitful. Zanardelli, minister of justice, secured in June 1888 the adoption of a new penal code; state surveillance was extended to the *opere pie*, or charitable institutions; municipal franchise was reformed by granting what was practically manhood suffrage with residential qualification, provision being made for minority representation; and the central state administration was reformed by a bill fixing the number and functions of the various ministries. The management of finance was scarcely satisfactory, for though Giolitti, who had succeeded Magliani and Perazzi at the treasury, suppressed the former's illusory "pension fund," he lacked the fibre necessary to deal with the enormous deficit of nearly £10,000,000 in 1888–1889, the existence of which both Perazzi and he had recognized. The most successful feature of Crispi's term of office was his strict maintenance of order and the suppression of Radical and Irredentist agitation. So vigorous was his treatment of Irredentism that he dismissed without warning his colleague Seismit Doda, minister of finance, for having failed to protest against Irredentist speeches delivered in his presence at Udine. Firmness such as this secured for him the support of all constitutional elements, and after three years' premiership his position was infinitely stronger than at the outset. The general election of 1890 gave the cabinet an almost unwieldy majority, comprising four-fifths of the Chamber. A lengthy term of office seemed to be opening out before him when, on the 31st of January 1891, Crispi, speaking in a debate upon an unimportant bill, angrily rebuked the Right for its noisy interruptions. The rebuke infuriated the Conservative deputies, who, protesting against Crispi's words in the name of the "sacred memories" of their party, precipitated a division and placed the cabinet in a minority. The incident, whether due to chance or guile, brought about the resignation of Crispi. A few days later he was succeeded in the premiership by the marquis di Rudini, leader of the Right, who formed a coalition cabinet with Nicotera and a part of the Left.

The sudden fall of Crispi wrought a great change in the character of Italian relations with foreign powers. His policy had been characterized by extreme cordiality towards Austria and Germany, by a close understanding with Great Britain in regard to Mediterranean questions, and by an apparent animosity towards France, which at one moment seemed likely to lead to war. Shortly before the fall of the Depretis-Robilant cabinet Count Robilant had announced the intention of Italy to denounce the commercial treaties with France and Austria, which would lapse on the 31st of December 1887, and had intimated his readiness to negotiate new treaties. On the 24th of June 1887, in view of a possible rupture of commercial relations with France, the Depretis-Crispi cabinet introduced a new general tariff. The probability of the conclusion of a new Franco-Italian treaty was small, both on account of the protectionist spirit of France and of French resentment at the renewal of the triple alliance, but even such slight probability vanished after a visit paid to Bismarck by Crispi (October 1887) within three months of his appointment to the premiership. Crispi entertained no *a priori* animosity towards France, but was strongly convinced that Italy must emancipate herself from the position of political dependence

on her powerful neighbour which had vitiated the foreign policy of the Left. So far was he from desiring a rupture with France, that he had subordinated acceptance of the portfolio of the interior in the Depretis cabinet to an assurance that the triple alliance contained no provision for offensive warfare. But his ostentatious visit to Friedrichsruh, and a subsequent speech at Turin, in which, while professing sentiments of friendship and esteem for France, he eulogized the personality of Bismarck, aroused against him a hostility on the part of the French which he was never afterwards able to allay. France was equally careless of Italian susceptibilities, and in April 1888 Goblet made a futile but irritating attempt to enforce at Massawa the Ottoman régime of the capitulations in regard to non-Italian residents. In such circumstances the negotiations for the new commercial treaty could but fail, and though the old treaty was prolonged by special arrangement for two months, differential tariffs were put in force on both sides of the frontier on the 29th of February 1888. The value of French exports into Italy decreased immediately by one-half, while Italian exports to France decreased by nearly two-thirds. At the end of 1889 Crispi abolished the differential duties against French imports and returned to the general Italian tariff, but France declined to follow his lead and maintained her prohibitive dues. Meanwhile the enthusiastic reception accorded to the young German emperor on the occasion of his visit to Rome in October 1888, and the cordiality shown towards King Humbert and Crispi at Berlin in May 1889, increased the tension of Franco-Italian relations; nor was it until after the fall of Prince Bismarck in March 1890 that Crispi adopted towards the Republic a more friendly attitude by sending an Italian squadron to salute President Carnot at Toulon. The chief advantage derived by Italy from Crispi's foreign policy was the increase of confidence in her government on the part of her allies and of Great Britain. On the occasion of the incident raised by Goblet with regard to Massawa, Bismarck made it clear to France that, in case of complications, Italy would not stand alone; and when in February 1888 a strong French fleet appeared to menace the Italian coast, the British Mediterranean squadron demonstrated its readiness to support Italian naval dispositions. Moreover, under Crispi's hand Italy awoke from the apathy of former years and gained consciousness of her place in the world. The conflict with France, the operations in Eritrea, the vigorous interpretation of the triple alliance, the questions of Morocco and Bulgaria, were all used by him as means to stimulate national sentiment. With the instinct of a true statesman, he felt the pulse of the people, divined their need for prestige, and their preference for a government heavy-handed rather than lax. How great had been Crispi's power was seen by contrast with the policy of the Rudini cabinet which succeeded him in February 1891. Crispi's so-called "megalomania" gave place to retrenchment in home affairs and to a deferential attitude towards all foreign powers. The premiership of Rudini was hailed by the Radical leader, Cavallotti, as a pledge of the non-renewal of the triple alliance, against which the Radicals began a vociferous campaign. Their tactics, however, produced a contrary effect, for Rudini accepting proposals from Berlin, renewed the alliance in June 1891 for a period of twelve years. None of Rudini's public utterances justify the supposition that he assumed office with the intention of allowing the alliance to lapse on its expiry in May 1892; indeed, he frankly declared it to form the basis of his foreign policy. The attitude of several of his colleagues was more equivocal, but though they coquetted with French financiers in the hope of obtaining the support of the Paris Bourse for Italian securities, the precipitate renewal of the alliance destroyed all probability of a close understanding with France. The desire of Rudini to live on the best possible terms with all powers was further evinced in the course of a visit paid to Monza by M. de Giers in October 1891, when the Russian statesman was apprised of the entirely defensive nature of Italian engagements under the triple alliance. At the same time he carried to a successful conclusion negotiations begun by Crispi for the renewal of commercial treaties with Austria and Germany upon terms which to some extent compensated Italy for the reduction of her commerce with France, and concluded with Great Britain conventions for the delimitation of British and Italian spheres of influence in north-east Africa. In home affairs his administration was weak and vacillating, nor did the economies effected in naval and military expenditure and in other departments suffice to strengthen the position of a cabinet which had disappointed the hopes of its supporters. On the 14th of April 1892 dissensions between ministers concerning the financial programme led to a cabinet crisis, and though Rudini succeeded in reconstructing his administration, he was defeated in the Chamber on the 5th of May and obliged to resign. King Humbert, who, from lack of confidence in Rudini, had declined to allow him to dissolve parliament, entrusted Signor Giolitti, a Piedmontese deputy, sometime treasury minister in the Crispi cabinet, with the formation of a ministry of the Left, which contrived to obtain six months' supply on account, and dissolved the Chamber.

The ensuing general election (November 1892), marked by unprecedented violence and abuse of official pressure upon the electorate, fitly ushered in what proved to be the most unfortunate period of Italian history since the completion of national unity. The influence of Giolitti was based largely upon the favour of a court clique, and especially of Rattazzi, minister of the royal household. Early in 1893 a scandal arose in connexion with the

management of state banks, and particularly of the Banca Romana, whose managing director, Tanlongo, had issued £2,500,000 of duplicate bank-notes. Giolitti scarcely improved matters by creating Tanlongo a member of the senate, and by denying in parliament the existence of any mismanagement. The senate, however, manifested the utmost hostility to Tanlongo, whom Giolitti, in consequence of an interpellation in the Chamber, was compelled to arrest. Arrests of other prominent persons followed, and on the 3rd of February the Chamber authorized the prosecution of De Zerbi, a Neapolitan deputy accused of corruption. On the 20th of February De Zerbi suddenly expired. For a time Giolitti successfully opposed inquiry into the conditions of the state banks, but on the 21st of March was compelled to sanction an official investigation by a parliamentary commission composed of seven members. On the 23rd of November the report of the commission was read to the Chamber amid intense excitement. It established that all Italian cabinets since 1880 had grossly neglected the state banks; that the two preceding cabinets had been aware of the irregularities committed by Tanlongo; that Tanlongo had heavily subsidized the press, paying as much as £20,000 for that purpose in 1888 alone; that a number of deputies, including several ex-ministers, had received from him loans of a considerable amount, which they had apparently made no effort to refund; that Giolitti had deceived the Chamber with regard to the state banks, and was open to suspicion of having, after the arrest of Tanlongo, abstracted a number of documents from the latter's papers before placing the remainder in the hands of the judicial authorities. In spite of the gravity of the charges formulated against many prominent men, the report merely "deplored" and "disapproved" of their conduct, without proposing penal proceedings. Fear of extending still further a scandal which had already attained huge dimensions, and the desire to avoid any further shock to national credit, convinced the commissioners of the expediency of avoiding a long series of prosecutions. The report, however, sealed the fate of the Giolitti cabinet, and on the 26th of November it resigned amid general execration.

Apart from the lack of scruple manifested by Giolitti in the bank scandals, he exhibited incompetence in the conduct of foreign and home affairs. On the 16th and 18th of August 1893 a number of Italian workmen were massacred at Aigues-Mortes. The French authorities, under whose eyes the massacre was perpetrated, did nothing to prevent or repress it, and the mayor of Marseilles even refused to admit the wounded Italian workmen to the municipal hospital. These occurrences provoked anti-French demonstrations in many parts of Italy, and revived the chronic Italian rancour against France. The Italian foreign minister, Brin, began by demanding the punishment of the persons guilty of the massacre, but hastened to accept as satisfactory the anodyne measures adopted by the French government. Giolitti removed the prefect of Rome for not having prevented an expression of popular anger, and presented formal excuses to the French consul at Messina for a demonstration against that consulate. In the following December the French tribunal at Angoulême acquitted all the authors of the massacre. At home Giolitti displayed the same weakness. Riots at Naples in August 1893 and symptoms of unrest in Sicily found him, as usual, unprepared and vacillating. The closing of the French market to Sicilian produce, the devastation wrought by the phylloxera and the decrease of the sulphur trade had combined to produce in Sicily a discontent of which Socialist agitators took advantage to organize the workmen of the towns and the peasants of the country into groups known as *fasci*. The movement had no well-defined object. Here and there it was based upon a bastard Socialism, in other places it was made a means of municipal party warfare under the guidance of the local mafia, and in some districts it was simply popular effervescence against the local octrois on bread and flour. As early as January 1893 a conflict had occurred between the police and the populace, in which several men, women and children were killed, an occurrence used by the agitators further to inflame the populace. Instead of maintaining a firm policy, Giolitti allowed the movement to spread until, towards the autumn of 1893, he became alarmed and drafted troops into the island, though in numbers insufficient to restore order. At the moment of his fall the movement assumed the aspect of an insurrection, and during the interval between his resignation (24th November) and the formation of a new Crispi cabinet (10th December) conflicts between the public forces and the rioters were frequent. The return of Crispi to power—a return imposed by public opinion as that of the only man capable of dealing with the desperate situation—marked the turning-point of the crisis. Intimately acquainted with the conditions of his native island, Crispi adopted efficacious remedies. The *fasci* were suppressed, Sicily was filled with troops, the reserves were called out, a state of siege proclaimed, military courts instituted and the whole movement crushed in a few weeks. The chief agitators were either sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment or were compelled to flee the country. A simultaneous insurrection at Massa-Carrara was crushed with similar vigour. Crispi's methods aroused great outcry in the Radical press, but the severe sentences of the military courts were in time tempered by the Royal prerogative of amnesty.

But it was not alone in regard to public order that heroic measures were necessary. The financial situation inspired serious misgivings. While engagements contracted by Depretis in regard to public works had more than neutralized the normal increase of revenue

from taxation, the whole credit of the state had been affected by the severe economic and financial crises of the years 1889-1893. The state banks, already hampered by mal-administration, were encumbered by huge quantities of real estate which had been taken over as compensation for unredeemed mortgages. B aron Sidney Sonnino, minister of finance in the Crispi cabinet, found a prospective deficit of £7,080,000, and in spite of economies was obliged to face an actual deficit of more than £6,000,000. Drastic measures were necessary to limit expenditure and to provide new sources of revenue. Sonnino applied, and subsequently amended, the Bank Reform Bill passed by the previous Administration (10th August 1893) for the creation of a supreme state bank, the Bank of Italy, which was entrusted with the liquidation of the insolvent Banca Romana. The new law forbade the state banks to lend money on real estate, limited their powers of discounting bills and securities, and reduced the maximum of their paper currency. In order to diminish the gold premium, which under Giolitti had risen to 16 %, forced currency was given to the existing notes of the banks of Italy, Naples and Sicily, while special state notes were issued to meet immediate currency needs. Measures were enforced to prevent Italian holders of consols from sending their coupons abroad to be paid in gold, with the result that, whereas in 1893 £3,240,000 had been paid abroad in gold for the service of the January coupons and only £680,000 in paper in Italy, the same coupon was paid a year later with only £1,360,000 abroad and £2,540,000 at home. Economies for more than £1,000,000, were immediately effected, taxes, calculated to produce £2,440,000, were proposed to be placed upon land, incomes, salt and corn, while the existing income-tax upon consols (fixed at 8 % by Cambray-Digny in 1868, and raised to 13.20 % by Sella in 1870) was increased to 20 % irrespective of the stockholders' nationality. These proposals met with opposition so fierce as to cause a cabinet crisis, but Sonnino who resigned office as minister of finance, returned to power as minister of the treasury, promulgated some of his proposals by royal decree, and in spite of vehement opposition secured their ratification by the Chamber. The tax upon consols, which, in conjunction with the other severe fiscal measures, was regarded abroad as a pledge that Italy intended at all costs to avoid bankruptcy, caused a rise in Italian stocks. When the Crispi cabinet fell in March 1896 Sonnino had the satisfaction of seeing revenue increased by £3,400,000, expenditure diminished by £2,800,000, the gold premium reduced from 16 to 5 %, consolidated stock at 95 instead of 72, and, notwithstanding the expenditure necessitated by the Abyssinian War, financial equilibrium practically restored.

While engaged in restoring order and in supporting Sonnino's courageous struggle against bankruptcy, Crispi became the object of fierce attacks from the Radicals, Socialists and anarchists. On the 16th of June an attempt by an anarchist named Lega was made on Crispi's life; on the 24th of June President Carnot was assassinated by the anarchist Caserio; and on the 30th of June an Italian journalist was murdered at Leghorn for a newspaper attack upon anarchism—a series of outrages which led the government to frame and parliament to adopt (11th July) a Public Safety Bill for the prevention of anarchist propaganda and crime. At the end of July the trial of the persons implicated in the Banca Romana scandal revealed the fact that among the documents abstracted by Giolitti from the papers of the bank manager, Tanlongo, were several bearing upon Crispi's political and private life. On the 11th of December Giolitti laid these and other papers before the Chamber, in the hope of ruining Crispi, but upon examination most of them were found to be worthless, and the rest of so private a nature as to be unfit for publication. The effect of the incident was rather to increase detestation of Giolitti than to damage Crispi. The latter, indeed, prosecuted the former for libel and for abuse of his position when premier, but after many vicissitudes, including the flight of Giolitti to Berlin in order to avoid arrest, the Chamber refused authorization for the prosecution, and the matter dropped. A fresh attempt of the same kind was then made against Crispi by the Radical leader Cavallotti, who advanced unproven charges of corruption and embezzlement. These attacks were, however, unavailing to shake Crispi's position, and in the general election of May 1895 his government obtained a majority of nearly 200 votes. Nevertheless public confidence in the efficacy of the parliamentary system and in the honesty of politicians was seriously diminished by these unsavoury occurrences, which, in combination with the acquittal of all the defendants in the Banca Romana trial, and the abandonment of the proceedings against Giolitti, reinforced to an alarming degree the propaganda of the revolutionary parties.

CHAPTER XI

WAR IN ERITREA

THE foreign policy of the second Crispi Administration, in which the portfolio of foreign affairs was held by Baron Blanc, was, as before, marked by a cordial interpretation of the triple alliance, and by close accord with Great Britain. In the Armenian question Italy seconded with energy the diplomacy of Austria and Germany, while the Italian fleet joined the British Mediterranean squadron in a demonstration off the Syrian coast. Graver than any foreign question were the complications in Eritrea. Under the arrangement concluded in 1891 by Rudini with native chiefs in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian frontier districts, relations with Abyssinia had remained comparatively satisfactory. Towards the Sudan, however, the Madhists, who had recovered from a defeat inflicted by an Italian force at Agordat in 1890, resumed operations in December 1893. Colonel Arimondi, commander of the colonial forces in the absence of the military governor, General Baratieri, attacked and routed a dervish force 10,000 strong on the 21st of December. The Italian troops, mostly native levies, numbered only 2200 men. The dervish loss was more than 1000 killed, while the total Italian casualties amounted to less than 250. General Baratieri, upon returning to the colony, decided to execute a *coup de main* against the dervish base at Kassala, both in order to relieve pressure from that quarter and to preclude a combined Abyssinian and dervish attack upon the colony at the end of 1894. The protocol concluded with Great Britain on the 15th of April 1891, already referred to, contained a clause to the effect that, were Kassala occupied by the Italians, the place should be transferred to the Egyptian government as soon as the latter should be in a position to restore order in the Sudan. Concentrating a little army of 2600 men, Baratieri surprised and captured Kassala on the 17th of July 1894, and garrisoned the place with native levies under Italian officers. Meanwhile Menelek, jealous of the extension of Italian influence to a part of northern Somaliland and to the Benadir coast, had, with the support of France and Russia, completed his preparations for asserting his authority as independent ruler of Ethiopia. On the 11th of May 1893 he denounced the treaty of Ucciali, but the Giolitti cabinet, absorbed by the bank scandals, paid no heed to his action. Possibly an adroit repetition in favour of Mangashà and against Menelek of the policy formerly followed in favour of Menelek against the negus John might have consolidated Italian influence in Abyssinia by preventing the ascendancy of any single chieftain. The Italian government, however, neglected this opening, and Mangashà came to terms with Menelek. Consequently the efforts of Crispi and his envoy, Colonel Piano, to conclude a new treaty with Menelek in June 1894 not only proved unsuccessful, but formed a prelude to troubles on the Italo-Abyssinian frontier. Bath-Agos, the native chieftain who ruled the Okulé-Kusai and the cis-Mareb provinces on behalf of Italy, intrigued with Mangashà, ras of the trans-Mareb province of Tigré, and with Menelek, to raise a revolt against Italian rule on the high plateau. In December 1894 the revolt broke out, but Major Toselli with a small force marched rapidly against Bath-Agos, whom he routed and killed at Halai. General Baratieri, having reason to suspect the complicity of Mangashà in the revolt, called upon him to furnish troops for a projected Italo-Abyssinian campaign against the Mahdists. Mangashà made no reply, and Baratieri crossing the Mareb advanced to Adowa, but four days later was obliged to return northwards. Mangashà thereupon took the offensive and attempted to occupy the village of Coatit in Okulé-Kusai, but was forestalled and defeated by Baratieri on the 13th of January 1895. Hurriedly

retreating to Senafé, hard pressed by the Italians, who shelled Senafé on the evening of the 15th of January, Mangashà was obliged to abandon his camp and provisions to Baratieri, who also secured a quantity of correspondence establishing the complicity of Menelek and Mangashà in the revolt of Bath-Agos.

The comparatively facile success achieved by Baratieri against Mangashà seems to have led him to undervalue his enemy, and to forget that Menelek, negus and king of Shoa, had an interest in allowing Mangashà to be crushed, in order that the imperial authority and the superiority of Shoa over Tigrin arms might be the more strikingly asserted. After obtaining the establishment of an apostolic prefecture in Eritrea under the charge of Italian Franciscans, Baratieri expelled from the colony the French Lazarist missionaries for their alleged complicity in the Bath-Agos insurrection, and in March 1895 undertook the conquest of Tigré. Occupying Adigrat and Makallé, he reached Adowa on the 1st of April, and thence pushed forward to Axum, the holy city of Abyssinia. These places were garrisoned, and during the rainy season Baratieri returned to Italy, where he was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Whether he or the Crispi cabinet had any inkling of the enterprise to which they were committed by the occupation of Tigré is more than doubtful. Certainly Baratieri made no adequate preparations to repel an Abyssinian attempt to reconquer the province. Early in September both Mangashà and Menelek showed signs of activity, and on the 20th of September Makonnen, ras of Harrar, who up till then had been regarded as a friend and quasi-ally by Italy, expelled all Italians from his territory and marched with 30,000 men to join the negus. On returning to Eritrea, Baratieri mobilized his native reserves and pushed forward columns under Major Toselli and General Arimondi as far south as Amba Alagi. Mangashà fell back before the Italians, who obtained several minor successes; but on the 6th of December Toselli's column, 2000 strong, which through a misunderstanding continued to hold Amba Alagi, was almost annihilated by the Abyssinian vanguard of 40,000 men. Toselli and all but three officers and 300 men fell at their posts after a desperate resistance. Arimondi, collecting the survivors of the Toselli column, retreated to Makallé and Adigrat. At Makallé, however, he left a small garrison in the fort, which on the 7th of January 1896 was invested by the Abyssinian army. Repeated attempts to capture the fort having failed, Menelek and Makonnen opened negotiations with Baratieri for its capitulation, and on the 21st of January the garrison, under Major Galliano, who had heroically defended the position, were permitted to march out with the honours of war. Meanwhile Baratieri received reinforcements from Italy, but remained undecided as to the best plan of campaign. Thus a month was lost, during which the Abyssinian army advanced to Hausen, a position slightly south of Adowa. The Italian commander attempted to treat with Menelek, but his negotiations merely enabled the Italian envoy, Major Salsa, to ascertain that the Abyssinians were nearly 100,000 strong, mostly armed with rifles and well supplied with artillery. The Italians, including camp-followers, numbered less than 25,000 men, a force too small for effective action, but too large to be easily provisioned at 200 m. from its base, in a roadless, mountainous country, almost devoid of water. For a moment Baratieri thought of retreat, especially as the hope of creating a diversion from Zaila towards Harrar had failed in consequence of the British refusal to permit the landing of an Italian force without the consent of France. The defection of a number of native allies (who, however, were attacked and defeated by Colonel Stevani on the 18th of February) rendered the Italian position still more precarious; but Baratieri, unable to make up his mind, continued to manœuvre in the hope of drawing an Abyssinian attack. These futile tactics exasperated the home government, which on the 22nd of February despatched General Baldissera, with strong reinforcements, to supersede Baratieri. On the 25th of February Crispi telegraphed to Baratieri, denouncing his operations as "military phthisis," and urging him to decide upon some strategic plan. Baratieri, anxious probably to obtain some success before the arrival of Baldissera, and alarmed by the rapid diminution of his stores, which precluded further immobility, called a council of war (29th of February) and obtained the approval of the divisional commanders for a plan of attack. During the night the army advanced towards Adowa in three divisions, under Generals Dabormida, Arimondi and Albertone, each division being between 4000 and 5000 strong, and a brigade 5300 strong under General Ellena remaining in reserve. All the divisions, save that of Albertone, consisted chiefly of Italian troops. During the march Albertone's native division mistook the road, and found itself obliged to delay the Arimondi column by retracing its steps. Marching rapidly, however, Albertone outdistanced the other columns, but, in consequence of allowing his men an hour's rest, arrived upon the scene of action when the Abyssinians, whom it had been hoped to surprise at dawn, were ready to receive the attack. Pressed by overwhelming forces, the Italians, after a violent combat, began to give way. The Dabormida division, unsupported by Albertone, found itself likewise engaged in a separate combat against superior numbers. Similarly the Arimondi brigade was attacked by 30,000 Shoans, and encumbered by the debris of Albertone's troops. Baratieri vainly attempted to push forward the reserve, but the Italians were already overwhelmed, and the battle—or rather, series of distinct engagements—ended in a general rout. The Italian loss is estimated to have been more than 6000, of whom 3125 were whites. Between 3000 and 4000 prisoners were taken by the Abyssinians,

including General Albertone, while Generals Arimondi and Dabormida were killed and General Ellena wounded. The Abyssinians lost more than 5000 killed and 8000 wounded. Baratieri, after a futile attempt to direct the retreat, fled in haste and reached Adi-Cajà before the débris of his army. Thence he despatched telegrams to Italy throwing blame for the defeat upon his troops, a proceeding which subsequent evidence proved to be as unjustifiable as it was unsoldierlike. Placed under court-martial for his conduct, Baratieri was acquitted of the charge of having been led to give battle by other than military considerations, but the sentence "deplored that in such difficult circumstances the command should have been given to a general so inferior to the exigencies of the situation."

CHAPTER XII

THE FALL OF CRISPI

IN Italy the news of the defeat of Adowa caused deep discouragement and dismay. On the 5th of March the Crispi cabinet resigned before an outburst of indignation which the Opposition had assiduously fomented, and five days later a new cabinet was formed by General Ricotti-Magnani, who, however, made over the premiership to the marquis di Rudini. The latter, though leader of the Right, had long been intriguing with Cavallotti, leader of the Extreme Left, to overthrow Crispi, but without the disaster of Adowa his plan would scarcely have succeeded. The first act of the new cabinet was to confirm instructions given by its predecessor to General Baldissera (who had succeeded General Baratieri on the 2nd of March) to treat for peace with Menelek if he thought desirable. Baldissera opened negotiations with the negus through Major Salsa, and simultaneously reorganized the Italian army. The negotiations having failed, he marched to relieve the beleaguered garrison of Adigrat; but Menelek, discouraged by the heavy losses at Adowa, broke up his camp and returned southwards to Shoa. At the same time Baldissera detached Colonel Stevani with four native battalions to relieve Kassala, then hard pressed by the Mahdists. Kassala was relieved on the 1st of April, and Stevani a few days later severely defeated the dervishes at Jebel Mokram and Tucruft. Returning from Kassala Colonel Stevani rejoined Baldissera, who on the 4th of May relieved Adigrat after a well-executed march. By adroit negotiations with Mangashà the Italian general obtained the release of all the Italian prisoners in Tigré, and towards the end of May withdrew his whole force north of the Mareb. Major Nerazzini was then despatched as special envoy to the negus to arrange terms of peace. On the 26th of October Nerazzini succeeded in concluding, at Adis Ababa, a provisional treaty annulling the treaty of Ucciali; recognizing the absolute independence of Ethiopia; postponing for one year the definitive delimitation of the Italo-Abyssinian boundary, but allowing the Italians meanwhile to hold the strong Mareb-Belesa-Muna line; and arranging for the release of the Italian prisoners after ratification of the treaty in exchange for an indemnity of which the amount was to be fixed by the Italian government. The treaty having been duly ratified, and an indemnity of £400,000 paid to Menelek, the Shoa prisoners were released, and Major Nerazzini once more returned to Abyssinia with instructions to secure, if possible, Menelek's assent to the definitive retention of the Mareb-Belesa-Muna line by Italy. Before Nerazzini could reach Adis Ababa, Rudini, in order partially to satisfy the demands of his Radical supporters for the abandonment of the colony, announced in the Chamber the intention of Italy to limit her occupation to the triangular zone between the points Asmarà, Keren and Massawa, and, possibly, to withdraw to Massawa alone. This declaration, of which Menelek was swiftly apprised by French agents, rendered it impossible for Nerazzini to obtain more than a boundary leaving to Italy but a small portion of the high plateau and ceding to Abyssinia the fertile provinces of Seraè and Okulé-Kusai. The fall of the Rudini cabinet in June 1898, however, enabled Signor Ferdinando Martini and Captain Ciccio di Cola, who had been appointed respectively civil governor of Eritrea and minister resident at Adis Ababa, to prevent the cession of Seraè and Okulé-Kusai, and to secure the assent of Menelek to Italian retention of the Mareb-Belesa-Muna frontier. Eritrea has now approximately the same extent as before the revolt of Bath-Agos, except in regard (1) to Kassala, which was transferred to the Anglo-Egyptian authorities on the 25th of December 1897, in

pursuance of the above-mentioned Anglo-Italian convention; and (2) to slight rectifications of its northern and eastern boundaries by conventions concluded between the Eritrean and the Anglo-Egyptian authorities. Under Signor Ferdinando Martini's able administration (1898-1906) the cost of the colony to Italy was reduced and its trade and agriculture have vastly improved.

While marked in regard to Eritrea by vacillation and undignified readiness to yield to Radical clamour, the policy of the marquis di Rudini was in other respects chiefly characterized by a desire to demolish Crispi and his supporters. Actuated by rancour against Crispi, he, on the 20th of April 1896, authorized the publication of a Green Book on Abyssinian affairs, in which, without the consent of Great Britain, the confidential Anglo-Italian negotiations in regard to the Abyssinian war were disclosed. This publication, which amounted to a gross breach of diplomatic confidence, might have endangered the cordiality of Anglo-Italian relations, had not the esteem of the British government for General Ferrero, Italian ambassador in London, induced it to overlook the incident. Fortunately for Italy, the marquis Visconti-Venosta shortly afterwards consented to assume the portfolio of foreign affairs, which had been resigned by Duke Caetani di Sermoneta, and again to place, after an interval of twenty years, his unrivalled experience at the service of his country. In September 1896 he succeeded in concluding with France a treaty with regard to Tunisia in place of the old Italo-Tunisian treaty, denounced by the French Government a year previously. During the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 Visconti-Venosta laboured to maintain the European concert, joined Great Britain in preserving Greece from the worst consequences of her folly, and lent moral and material aid in establishing an autonomous government in Crete. At the same time he mitigated the Franco-phil tendencies of some of his colleagues, accompanied King Humbert and Queen Margherita on their visit to Homburg in September 1897, and, by loyal observance of the spirit of the triple alliance, retained for Italy the confidence of her allies without forfeiting the goodwill of France.

The home administration of the Rudini cabinet compared unfavourably with that of foreign affairs. Bound by a secret understanding with the Radical leader Cavallotti, an able but unscrupulous demagogue, Rudini was compelled to bow to Radical exigencies. He threw all the influence of the government against Crispi, who was charged with complicity in embezzlements perpetrated by Favilla, managing director of the Bologna branch of the Bank of Naples. After being subjected to persecution for nearly two years, Crispi's character was substantially vindicated by the report of a parliamentary commission appointed to inquire into his relations with Favilla. True, the commission proposed and the Chamber adopted a vote of censure upon Crispi's conduct in 1894, when, as premier and minister of the interior, he had borrowed £12,000 from Favilla to replenish the secret service fund, and had subsequently repaid the money as instalments for secret service were in due course furnished by the treasury. Though irregular, his action was to some extent justified by the depletion of the secret service fund under Giolitti and by the abnormal circumstances prevailing in 1893-1894, when he had been obliged to quell the insurrections in Sicily and Massa-Carrara. But the Rudini-Cavallotti alliance was destined to produce other results than those of the campaign against Crispi. Pressed by Cavallotti, Rudini in March 1897 dissolved the Chamber and conducted the general election in such a way as to crush by government pressure the partisans of Crispi, and greatly to strengthen the (Socialist, Republican and Radical) revolutionary parties. More than ever at the mercy of the Radicals and of their revolutionary allies, Rudini continued so to administer public affairs that subversive propaganda and associations obtained unprecedented extension. The effect was seen in May 1898, when, in consequence of a rise in the price of bread, disturbances occurred in southern Italy. The corn duty was reduced to meet the emergency, but the disturbed area extended to Naples, Foggia, Bari, Minervino-Murge, Molfetta and thence along the line of railway which skirts the Adriatic coast. At Faenza, Piacenza, Cremona, Pavia and Milan, where subversive associations were stronger, it assumed the complexion of a political revolt. From the 7th to the 9th of May Milan remained practically in the hands of the mob. A palace was sacked, barricades were erected and for forty-eight hours the troops under General Bava-Beccaris, notwithstanding the employment of artillery, were unable to restore order. In view of these occurrences, Rudini authorized the proclamation of a state of siege at Milan, Florence, Leghorn and Naples, delegating the suppression of disorder to special military commissioners. By these means order was restored, though not without considerable loss of life at Milan and elsewhere. At Milan alone the official returns confessed to eighty killed and several hundred wounded, a total generally considered below the real figures. As in 1894, excessively severe sentences were passed by the military tribunals upon revolutionary leaders and other persons considered to have been implicated in the outbreak, but successive royal amnesties obliterated these condemnations within three years.

No Italian administration since the death of Depretis underwent so many metamorphoses as that of the marquis di Rudini. Modified a first time within five months of its formation (July 1896) in connexion with General Ricotti's Army Reform Bill, and again in December 1897, when Zanardelli entered the cabinet, it was reconstructed for a third time at the end

of May 1898 upon the question of a Public Safety Bill, but fell for the fourth and last time on the 18th of June 1898, on account of public indignation at the results of Rudini's home policy as exemplified in the May riots. On the 29th of June Rudini was succeeded in the premiership by General Luigi Pelloux, a Savoyard, whose only title to office was the confidence of the king. The Pelloux cabinet possessed no clear programme except in regard to the Public Safety Bill, which it had taken over from its predecessor. Presented to parliament in November 1898, the bill was read a second time in the following spring, but its third reading was violently obstructed by the Socialists, Radicals and Republicans of the Extreme Left. After a series of scenes and scuffles the bill was promulgated by royal decree, the decree being post-dated to allow time for the third reading. Again obstruction precluded debate, and on the 22nd of July 1899 the decree automatically acquired force of law, pending the adoption of a bill of indemnity by the Chamber. In February 1900 it was, however, quashed by the supreme court on a point of procedure, and the Public Safety Bill as a whole had again to be presented to the Chamber. In view of the violence of Extremist obstruction, an effort was made to reform the standing orders of the Lower House, but parliamentary feeling ran so high that General Pelloux thought it expedient to appeal to the country. The general election of June 1900 not only failed to reinforce the cabinet, but largely increased the strength of the extreme parties (Radicals, Republicans and Socialists), who in the new Chamber numbered nearly 100 out of a total of 508. General Pelloux therefore resigned, and on the 24th of June a moderate Liberal cabinet was formed by the aged Signor Saracco, president of the senate. Within five weeks of its formation King Humbert was shot by an anarchist assassin named Bresci while leaving an athletic festival at Monza, where his Majesty had distributed the prizes (29th July 1900). The death of the unfortunate monarch, against whom an attempt had previously been made by the anarchist Acciarito (22nd April 1897), caused an outburst of profound sorrow and indignation. Though not a great monarch, King Humbert had, by his unfailing generosity and personal courage, won the esteem and affection of his people. During the cholera epidemic at Naples and Busca in 1884, and the Ischia earthquake of 1885, he, regardless of danger, brought relief and encouragement to sufferers, and rescued many lives. More than £100,000 of his civil list was annually devoted to charitable purposes. Humbert was succeeded by his only son, Victor Emmanuel III. (b. November 11, 1869), a liberal-minded and well-educated prince, who at the time of his father's assassination was returning from a cruise in the eastern Mediterranean. The remains of King Humbert were laid to rest in the Pantheon at Rome beside those of his father, Victor Emmanuel II. (9th August). Two days later Victor Emmanuel III. swore fidelity to the constitution before the assembled Houses of Parliament and in the presence of his consort, Elena of Montenegro, whom he had married in October 1896.

CHAPTER XIII

VICTOR EMMANUEL III

THE later course of Italian foreign policy was marked by many vicissitudes. Admiral Canevaro, who had gained distinction as commander of the international forces in Crete (1896-1898), assumed the direction of foreign affairs in the first period of the Pelloux administration. His diplomacy, though energetic, lacked steadiness. Soon after taking office he completed the negotiations begun by the Rudini administration for a new commercial treaty with France (October 1898), whereby Franco-Italian commercial relations were placed upon a normal footing after a breach which had lasted for more than ten years. By the despatch of a squadron to South America he obtained satisfaction for injuries inflicted thirteen years previously upon an Italian subject by the United States of Colombia. In December 1898 he convoked a diplomatic conference in Rome to discuss secret means for the repression of anarchist propaganda and crime in view of the assassination of the empress of Austria by an Italian anarchist (Luccheni), but it is doubtful whether results of practical value were achieved. The action of the tsar of Russia in convening the Peace Conference at The Hague in May 1900 gave rise to a question as to the right of the Vatican to be officially represented, and Admiral Canevaro, supported by Great Britain and Germany, succeeded in preventing the invitation of a papal delegate. Shortly afterwards his term of office was brought to a close by the failure of an attempt to secure for Italy a coaling station at Sanmen and a sphere of influence in China; but his policy of active participation in Chinese affairs was continued in a modified form by his successor, the Marquis Visconti Venosta, who, entering the reconstructed Pelloux cabinet in May 1899, retained the portfolio of foreign affairs in the ensuing Saracco administration, and secured the despatch of an Italian expedition, 2000 strong, to aid in repressing the Chinese outbreak and in protecting Italian interests in the Far East (July 1900). With characteristic foresight, Visconti Venosta promoted an exchange of views between Italy and France in regard to the Tripolitan hinterland, which the Anglo-French convention of 1899 had placed within the French sphere of influence—a modification of the *status quo ante* considered highly detrimental to Italian aspirations in Tripoli. For this reason the Anglo-French convention had caused profound irritation in Italy, and had tended somewhat to diminish the cordiality of Anglo-Italian relations. Visconti Venosta is believed, however, to have obtained from France a formal declaration that France would not transgress the limits assigned to her influence by the convention. Similarly, in regard to Albania, Visconti Venosta exchanged notes with Austria with a view to the prevention of any misunderstanding through the conflict between Italian and Austrian interests in that part of the Adriatic coast. Upon the fall of the Saracco cabinet (9th February 1901) Visconti Venosta was succeeded at the foreign office by Signor Prinetti, a Lombard manufacturer of strong temperament, but without previous diplomatic experience. The new minister continued in most respects the policy of his predecessor. The outset of his administration was marked by Franco-Italian fêtes at Toulon (10th to 14th April 1901), when the Italian fleet returned a visit paid by the French Mediterranean squadron to Cagliari in April 1899; and by the despatch of three Italian warships to Prevesa to obtain satisfaction for damage done to Italian subjects by Turkish officials.

The Saracco administration, formed after the obstructionist crisis of 1899-1900 as a cabinet of transition and pacification, was overthrown in February 1901 in consequence of its vacillating conduct towards a dock strike at Genoa. It was succeeded by a

Zanardelli cabinet, in which the portfolio of the interior was allotted to Giolitti. Composed mainly of elements drawn from the Left, and dependent for a majority upon the support of the subversive groups of the Extreme Left, the formation of this cabinet gave the signal for a vast working-class movement, during which the Socialist party sought to extend its political influence by means of strikes and the organization of labour leagues among agricultural labourers and artisans. The movement was confined chiefly to the northern and central provinces. During the first six months of 1901 the strikes numbered 600, and involved more than 1,000,000 workmen.

In 1901-1902 the social economic condition of Italy was a matter of grave concern. The strikes and other economic agitations at this time may be divided roughly into three groups: strikes in industrial centres for higher wages, shorter hours and better labour conditions generally; strikes of agricultural labourers in northern Italy for better contracts with the landlords; disturbances among the south Italian peasantry due to low wages, unemployment (particularly in Apulia), and the claims of the labourers to public land occupied illegally by the landlords, combined with local feuds and the struggle for power of the various influential families. The prime cause in most cases was the unsatisfactory economic condition of the working classes, which they realized all the more vividly for the very improvements that had been made in it, while education and better communications enabled them to organize themselves. Unfortunately these genuine grievances were taken advantage of by the Socialists for their own purposes, and strikes and disorders were sometimes promoted without cause and conciliation impeded by outsiders who acted from motives of personal ambition or profit. Moreover, while many strikes were quite orderly, the turbulent character of a part of the Italian people and their hatred of authority often converted peaceful demands for better conditions into dangerous riots, in which the dregs of the urban population (known as *teppisti* or the *mala vita*) joined.

Whereas in the past the strikes had been purely local and due to local conditions, they now appeared of more general and political character, and the "sympathy" strike came to be a frequent and undesirable addition to the ordinary economic agitation. The most serious movement at this time was that of the railway servants. The agitation had begun some fifteen years before, and the men had at various times demanded better pay and shorter hours, often with success. The next demand was for greater fixity of tenure and more regular promotion, as well as for the recognition by the companies of the railwaymen's union. On the 4th of January 1902, the employees of the Mediterranean railway advanced these demands at a meeting at Turin, and threatened to strike if they were not satisfied. By the beginning of February the agitation had spread all over Italy, and the government was faced by the possibility of a strike which would paralyse the whole economic life of the country. Then the Turin gas men struck, and a general "sympathy" strike broke out in that city in consequence, which resulted in scenes of violence lasting two days. The government called out all the railway men who were army reservists, but continued to keep them at their railway work, exercising military discipline over them and thus ensuring the continuance of the service. At the same time it mediated between the companies and the employees, and in June a settlement was formally concluded between the ministers of public works and of the treasury and the directors of the companies concerning the grievances of the employees.

One consequence of the agrarian agitations was the increased use of machinery and the reduction in the number of hands employed, which if it proved advantageous to the landlord and to the few labourers retained, who received higher wages, resulted in an increase of unemployment. The Socialist party, which had grown powerful under a series of weak-kneed administrations, now began to show signs of division; on the one hand there was the revolutionary wing, led by Signor Enrico Ferri, the Mantuan deputy, which advocated a policy of uncompromising class warfare, and on the other the *reformisti*, or moderate Socialists, led by Signor Filippo Turati, deputy for Milan, who adopted a more conciliatory attitude and were ready to ally themselves with other parliamentary parties. Later the division took another aspect, the extreme wing being constituted by the *sindacalisti*, who were opposed to all legislative parliamentary action and favoured only direct revolutionary propaganda by means of the *sindacati* or unions which organized strikes and demonstrations. In March 1902 agrarian strikes organized by the *leghe* broke out in the district of Copparo and Polesine (lower valley of the Po), owing to a dispute about the labour contracts, and in Apulia on account of unemployment. In August there were strikes among the dock labourers of Genoa and the ironworkers of Florence; the latter agitation developed into a general strike in that city, which aroused widespread indignation among the orderly part of the population and ended without any definite result. At Como 15,000 textile workers remained on strike for nearly a month, but there were no disorders.

The year 1903, although not free from strikes and minor disturbances, was quieter, but in September 1904 a very serious situation was brought about by a general economic and political agitation. The troubles began with the disturbances at Buggeru in Sardinia and Castelluzzo in Sicily, in both of which places the troops were compelled to use their arms and several persons were killed and wounded; at a demonstration at Sestri Ponente in Liguria to protest against what was called the Buggeru "massacre," four carabinieri and

eleven rioters were injured. The Monza labour exchange then took the initiative of proclaiming a general strike throughout Italy (September 15th) as a protest against the government for daring to maintain order. The strike spread to nearly all the industrial centres, although in many places it was limited to a few trades. At Milan it was more serious and lasted longer than elsewhere, as the movement was controlled by the anarchists under Arturo Labriola; the hooligans committed many acts of savage violence, especially against those workmen who refused to strike, and much property was wilfully destroyed. At Genoa, which was in the hands of the *teppisti* for a couple of days, three persons were killed and 50 wounded, including 14 policemen, and railway communications were interrupted for a short time. Venice was cut off from the mainland for two days and all the public services were suspended. Riots broke out also in Naples, Florence, Rome and Bologna. The deputies of the Extreme Left, instead of using their influence in favour of pacification, could think of nothing better than to demand an immediate convocation of parliament in order that they might present a bill forbidding the troops and police to use their arms in all conflicts between capital and labour, whatever the provocation might be. This preposterous proposal was of course not even discussed, and the movement caused a strong feeling of reaction against Socialism and of hostility to the government for its weakness; for, however much sympathy there might be with the genuine grievances of the working classes, the September strikes were of a frankly revolutionary character and had been fomented by professional agitators and kept going by the dregs of the people. The mayor of Venice sent a firm and dignified protest to the government for its inaction, and the people of Liguria raised a large subscription in favour of the troops, in recognition of their gallantry and admirable discipline during the troubles.

Early in 1905 there was a fresh agitation among the railway servants, who were dissatisfied with the clauses concerning the personnel in the bill for the purchase of the lines by the state. They initiated a system of obstruction which hampered and delayed the traffic without altogether suspending it. On the 17th of April a general railway strike was ordered by the union, but owing to the action of the authorities, who for once showed energy, the traffic was carried on. Other disturbances of a serious character occurred among the steelworkers of Terni, at Grammichele in Sicily and at Alessandria. The extreme parties now began to direct especial attention to propaganda in the army, with a view to destroying its cohesion and thus paralysing the action of the government. The campaign was conducted on the lines of the anti-militarist movement in France identified with the name of Hervé. Fortunately, however, this policy was not successful, as military service is less unpopular in Italy than in many other countries; aggressive militarism is quite unknown, and without it anti-militarism can gain no foothold. No serious mutinies have ever occurred in the Italian army, and the only results of the propaganda were occasional meetings of hooligans, where Hervéist sentiments were expressed and applauded, and a few minor disturbances among reservists unexpectedly called back to the colours. In the army itself the *esprit de corps* and the sense of duty and discipline nullified the work of the propagandists.

In June and July 1907 there were again disturbances among the agricultural labourers of Ferrara and Rovigo, and a widespread strike organized by the *leghe* throughout those provinces caused very serious losses to all concerned. The *leghisti*, moreover, were guilty of much criminal violence; they committed one murder and established a veritable reign of terror, boycotting, beating and wounding numbers of peaceful labourers who would not join the unions, and brutally maltreating solitary policemen and soldiers. The authorities, however, by arresting a number of the more prominent leaders succeeded in restoring order. Almost immediately afterwards an agitation of a still less defensible character broke out in various towns under the guise of anti-clericalism. Certain scandals had come to light in a small convent school at Greco near Milan. This was seized upon as a pretext for violent anti-clerical demonstrations all over Italy and for brutal and unprovoked attacks on unoffending priests; at Spezia a church was set on fire and another dismantled, at Marino Cardinal Merry del Val was attacked by a gang of hooligans, and at Rome the violence of the *teppisti* reached such a pitch as to provoke reaction on the part of all respectable people, and some of the aggressors were very roughly handled. The Socialists and the Freemasons were largely responsible for the agitation, and they filled the country with stories of other priestly and conventual immoralities, nearly all of which, except the original case at Greco, proved to be without foundation. In September 1907 disorders in Apulia over the repartition of communal lands broke out anew, and were particularly serious at Ruvo, Bari, Cerignola and Satriano del Colle. In some cases there was foundation for the labourers' claims, but unfortunately the movement got into the hands of professional agitators and common swindlers, and the leader, a certain Giampetruzzi, who at one time seemed to be a worthy colleague of Marcelin Albert, was afterwards tried and condemned for having cheated his own followers.

In October 1907 there was again a general strike at Milan, which was rendered more serious on account of the action of the railway servants, and extended to other cities; traffic was disorganized over a large part of northern Italy, until the government, being now owner of the railways, dismissed the ringleaders from the service. This had the

desired effect, and although the *Sindacato dei ferrovieri* (railway servants' union) threatened a general railway strike if the dismissed men were not reinstated, there was no further trouble. In the spring of 1908 there were agrarian strikes at Parma; the labour contracts had pressed hardly on the peasantry, who had cause for complaint; but while some improvement had been effected in the new contracts, certain unscrupulous demagogues, of whom Alceste De Ambris, representing the "syndacal" wing of the Socialist party, was the chief, organized a widespread agitation. The landlords on their part organized an agrarian union to defend their interests and enrolled numbers of non-union labourers to carry on the necessary work and save the crops. Conflicts occurred between the strikers and the independent labourers and the police; the trouble spread to the city of Parma, where violent scenes occurred when the labour exchange was occupied by the troops, and many soldiers and policemen, whose behaviour as usual was exemplary throughout, were seriously wounded. The agitation ceased in June with the defeat of the strikers, but not until a vast amount of damage had been done to the crops and all had suffered heavy losses, including the government, whose expenses for the maintenance of public order ran into tens of millions of lire. The failure of the strike caused the Socialists to quarrel among themselves and to accuse each other of dishonesty in the management of party funds; it appeared in fact that the large sums collected throughout Italy on behalf of the strikers had been squandered or appropriated by the "syndacal" leaders. The spirit of indiscipline had begun to reach the lower classes of state employees, especially the school teachers and the postal and telegraph clerks, and at one time it seemed as though the country were about to face a situation similar to that which arose in France in the spring of 1909. Fortunately, however, the government, by dismissing the ringleader, Dr Campanozzi, in time nipped the agitation in the bud, and it did attempt to redress some of the genuine grievances. Public opinion upheld the government in its attitude, for all persons of common sense realized that the suspension of the public services could not be permitted for a moment in a civilized country.

In parliamentary politics the most notable event in 1902 was the presentation of a divorce bill by Signor Zanardelli's government; this was done not because there was any real demand for it, but to please the doctrinaire anti-clericals and freemasons, divorce being regarded not as a social institution but as a weapon against Catholicism. But while the majority of the deputies were nominally in favour of the bill, the parliamentary committee reported against it, and public opinion was so hostile that an anti-divorce petition received 3,500,000 signatures, including not only those of professing Catholics, but of free-thinkers and Jews, who regarded divorce as unsuitable to Italian conditions. The opposition outside parliament was in fact so overwhelming that the ministry decided to drop the bill. The financial situation continued satisfactory; a new loan at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ was voted by the Chamber in April 1902, and by June the whole of it had been placed in Italy. In October the rate of exchange was at par, the premium on gold had disappeared, and by the end of the year the budget showed a surplus of sixteen millions.

In January 1903 Signor Prinetti, the minister for foreign affairs, resigned on account of ill-health, and was succeeded by Admiral Morin, while Admiral Bettolo took the latter's place as minister of marine. The unpopularity of the ministry forced Signor Giolitti, the minister of the interior, to resign (June 1903), and he was followed by Admiral Bettolo, whose administration had been violently attacked by the Socialists; in October Signor Zanardelli, the premier, resigned on account of his health, and the king entrusted the formation of the cabinet to Signor Giolitti. The latter accepted the task, and the new administration included Signor Tittoni, late prefect of Naples, as foreign minister, Signor Luigi Luzzatti, the eminent financier, at the treasury, General Pedotti at the war office, and Admiral Mirabello as minister of marine. Almost immediately after his appointment Signor Tittoni accompanied the king and queen of Italy on a state visit to France and then to England, where various international questions were discussed, and the cordial reception which the royal pair met with in London and at Windsor served to dispel the small cloud which had arisen in the relations of the two countries on account of the Tripoli agreements and the language question in Malta. The premier's programme was not well received by the Chamber, although the treasury minister's financial statement was again satisfactory. The weakness of the government in dealing with the strike riots caused a feeling of profound dissatisfaction, and the so-called "experiment of liberty," conducted with the object of conciliating the extreme parties, proved a dismal failure. In October 1904, after the September strikes, the Chamber was dissolved, and at the general elections in November a ministerial majority was returned, while the deputies of the Extreme Left (Socialists, Republicans and Radicals) were reduced from 107 to 94, and a few mild clericals elected. The municipal elections in several of the larger cities, which had hitherto been regarded as strongholds of socialism, marked an overwhelming triumph for the constitutional parties, notably in Milan, Turin and Genoa, for the strikes had wrought as much harm to the working classes as to the bourgeoisie. In spite of its majority the Giolitti cabinet, realizing that it had lost its hold over the country, resigned in March 1905.

Signor Fortis then became premier and minister of the interior, Signor Maiorano finance minister and Signor Carcano treasury minister, while Signor Tittoni, Admiral Mirabello

and General Pedotti retained the portfolios they had held in the previous administration. The new government was colourless in the extreme, and the premier's programme aroused no enthusiasm in the House, the most important bill presented being that for the purchase of the railways, which was voted in June 1905. But the ministry never had any real hold over the country or parliament, and the dissatisfaction caused by the *modus vivendi* with Spain, which would have wrought much injury to the Italian wine-growers, led to demonstrations and riots, and a hostile vote in the Chamber produced a cabinet crisis (December 17, 1905); Signor Fortis, however, reconstructed the ministry, inducing the marquis di San Giuliano to accept the portfolio of foreign affairs. This last fact was significant, as the new foreign secretary, a Sicilian deputy and a specialist on international politics, had hitherto been one of Signor Sonnino's staunchest adherents; his defection, which was but one of many, showed that the more prominent members of the Sonnino party were tired of waiting in vain for their chief's access to power. Even this cabinet was still-born, and a hostile vote in the Chamber on the 30th of January 1906 brought about its fall.

Now at last, after waiting so long, Signor Sonnino's hour had struck, and he became premier for the first time. This result was most satisfactory to all the best elements in the country, and great hopes were entertained that the advent of a rigid and honest statesman would usher in a new era of Italian parliamentary life. Unfortunately at the very outset of its career the composition of the new cabinet proved disappointing; for while such men as Count Guicciardini, the minister for foreign affairs, and Signor Luzzatti at the treasury commanded general approval, the choice of Signor Sacchi as minister of justice and of Signor Pantano as minister of agriculture and trade, both of them advanced and militant Radicals, savoured of an unholy compact between the premier and his erstwhile bitter enemies, which boded ill for the success of the administration. For this unfortunate combination Signor Sonnino himself was not altogether to blame; having lost many of his most faithful followers, who, weary of waiting for office, had gone over to the enemy, he had been forced to seek support among men who had professed hostility to the existing order of things and thus to secure at least the neutrality of the Extreme Left and make the public realize that the "reddest" of Socialists, Radicals and Republicans may be tamed and rendered harmless by the offer of cabinet appointments. A similar experiment had been tried in France not without success. Unfortunately in the case of Signor Sonnino public opinion expected too much and did not take to the idea of such a compromise. The new premier's first act was one which cannot be sufficiently praised: he suppressed all subsidies to journalists, and although this resulted in bitter attacks against him in the columns of the "reptile press" it commanded the approval of all right-thinking men. Signor Sonnino realized, however, that his majority was not to be counted on: "The country is with me," he said to a friend, "but the Chamber is against me." In April 1906 an eruption of Mount Etna caused the destruction of several villages and much loss of life and damage to property; in appointing a committee to distribute the relief funds the premier refused to include any of the deputies of the devastated districts among its members, and when asked by them for the reason of this omission, he replied, with a frankness more characteristic of the man than politic, that he knew they would prove more solicitous in the distribution of relief for their own electors than for the real sufferers. A motion presented by the Socialists in the Chamber for the immediate discussion of a bill to prevent "the massacres of the proletariat" having been rejected by an enormous majority, the 28 Socialist deputies resigned their seats; on presenting themselves for re-election their number was reduced to 25. A few days later the ministry, having received an adverse vote on a question of procedure, sent in its resignation (May 17).

The fall of Signor Sonnino, the disappointment caused by the non-fulfilment of the expectations to which his advent to power had given rise throughout Italy and the dearth of influential statesmen, made the return to power of Signor Giolitti inevitable. An appeal to the country might have brought about a different result, but it is said that opposition from the highest quarters rendered this course practically impossible. The change of government brought Signor Tittoni back to the foreign office; Signor Maiorano became treasury minister, General Viganò minister of war, Signor Cocco Ortù, whose chief claim to consideration was the fact of his being a Sardinian (the island had rarely been represented in the cabinet) minister of agriculture, Signor Gianturco of justice, Signor Massimini of finance, Signor Schanzer of posts and telegraphs and Signor Fusinato of education. The new ministry began auspiciously with the conversion of the public debt from 4% to 3½%, to be eventually reduced to 3¼%. This operation had been prepared by Signor Luzzatti under Signor Sonnino's leadership, and although carried out by Signor Maiorano it was Luzzatti who deservedly reaped the honour and glory; the bill was presented, discussed and voted by both Houses on the 29th of June, and by the 7th of July the conversion was completed most successfully, showing on how sound a basis Italian finance was now placed. The surplus for the year amounted to 65,000,000 lire. In November Signor Gianturco died, and Signor Pietro Bertolini took his place as minister of public works; the latter proved perhaps the ablest member of the cabinet, but the acceptance of office under Giolitti of a man who had been one of the most trusted and valuable lieutenants of Signor Sonnino marked a further step in the *dégringolade* of that statesman's party, and

was attributed to the fact that Signor Bertolini resented not having had a place in the late Sonnino ministry. General Viganò was succeeded in December by Senator Casana, the first civilian to become minister of war in Italy. He made various reforms which were badly wanted in army administration, but on the whole the experiment of a civilian "War Lord" was not a complete success, and in April 1909 Senator Casana retired and was succeeded by General Spingardi, an appointment which received general approval.

The elections of March 1909 returned a chamber very slightly different from its predecessor. The ministerial majority was over three hundred, and although the Extreme Left was somewhat increased in numbers it was weakened in tone, and many of the newly elected "reds" were hardly more than pale pink.

Meanwhile, the relations between Church and State began to show signs of change. The chief supporters of the claims of the papacy to temporal power were the clericals of France and Austria, but in the former country they had lost all influence, and the situation between the Church and the government was becoming every day more strained. With the rebellion of her "Eldest Daughter," the Roman Church could not continue in her old attitude of uncompromising hostility towards United Italy, and the Vatican began to realize the folly of placing every Italian in the dilemma of being *either* a good Italian *or* a good Catholic, when the majority wished to be both. Outside of Rome relations between the clergy and the authorities were as a rule quite cordial, and in May 1903 Cardinal Sarto, the patriarch of Venice, asked for and obtained an audience with the king when he visited that city, and the meeting which followed was of a very friendly character. In July following Leo XIII. died, and that same Cardinal Sarto became pope under the style of Pius X. The new pontiff, although nominally upholding the claims of the temporal power, in practice attached but little importance to it. At the elections for the local bodies the Catholics had already been permitted to vote, and, availing themselves of the privilege, they gained seats in many municipal councils and obtained the majority in some. At the general parliamentary elections of 1904 a few Catholics had been elected as such, and the encyclical of the 11th of June 1905 on the political organization of the Catholics, practically abolished the *non expedit*. In September of that year a number of religious institutions in the Near East, formerly under the protectorate of the French government, in view of the rupture between Church and State in France, formally asked to be placed under Italian protection, which was granted in January 1907. The situation thus became the very reverse of what it had been in Crispi's time, when the French government, even when anti-clerical, protected the Catholic Church abroad for political purposes, whereas the conflict between Church and State in Italy extended to foreign countries, to the detriment of Italian political interests. A more difficult question was that of religious education in the public elementary schools. Signor Giolitti wished to conciliate the Vatican by facilitating religious education, which was desired by the majority of the parents, but he did not wish to offend the Freemasons and other anti-clericals too much, as they could always give trouble at awkward moments. Consequently the minister of education, Signor Rava, concocted a body of rules which, it was hoped, would satisfy every one: religious instruction was to be maintained as a necessary part of the curriculum, but in communes where the majority of the municipal councillors were opposed to it it might be suppressed; the council in that case must, however, facilitate the teaching of religion to those children whose parents desire it. In practice, however, when the council has suppressed religious instruction no such facilities are given. At the general elections of March 1909, over a score of Clerical deputies were returned, Clericals of a very mild tone who had no thought of the temporal power and were supporters of the monarchy and anti-socialists; where no Clerical candidate was in the field the Catholic voters plumped for the constitutional candidate against all representatives of the Extreme Left. On the other hand, the attitude of the Vatican towards Liberalism within the Church was one of uncompromising reaction, and under the new pope the doctrines of Christian Democracy and Modernism were condemned in no uncertain tone. Don Romolo Murri, the Christian Democratic leader, who exercised much influence over the younger and more progressive clergy, having been severely censured by the Vatican, made formal submission, and declared his intention of retiring from the struggle. But he appeared again on the scene in the general elections of 1909, as a Christian Democratic candidate; he was elected, and alone of the Catholic deputies took his seat in the Chamber on the Extreme Left, where all his neighbours were violent anti-clericals.

At 5 A.M. on the 28th of December 1908, an earthquake of appalling severity shook the whole of southern Calabria and the eastern part of Sicily, completely destroying the cities of Reggio and Messina, the smaller towns of Canitello, Scilla, Villa San Giovanni, Bagnara, Palmi, Melito, Porto Salvo and Santa Eufemia, as well as a large number of villages. In the case of Messina the horror of the situation was heightened by a tidal wave. The catastrophe was the greatest of its kind that has ever occurred in any country; the number of persons killed was approximately 150,000, while the injured were beyond calculation.

The characteristic feature of Italy's foreign relations during this period was the weakening of the bonds of the Triple Alliance and the improved relations with France, while the traditional friendship with England remained unimpaired. Franco-Italian friendship was officially cemented by the visit of King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Elena in October

1903 to Paris where they received a very cordial welcome. The visit was returned in April 1904 when M. Loubet, the French president, came to Rome; this action was strongly resented by the pope, who, like his predecessor since 1870, objected to the presence of foreign Catholic rulers in Rome, and led to the final rupture between France and the Vatican. The Franco-Italian understanding had the effect of raising Italy's credit, and the Italian *rente*, which had been shut out of the French bourses, resumed its place there once more, a fact which contributed to increase its price and to reduce the unfavourable rate of exchange. That agreement also served to clear up the situation in Tripoli; while Italian aspirations towards Tunisia had been ended by the French occupation of that territory, Tripoli and Benghazi were now recognized as coming within the Italian "sphere of influence." The Tripoli hinterland, however, was in danger of being absorbed by other powers having large African interests; the Anglo-French declaration of the 21st of March 1899 in particular seemed likely to interfere with Italian activity.

The Triple Alliance was maintained and renewed as far as paper documents were concerned (in June 1902 it was reconfirmed for 12 years), but public opinion was no longer so favourably disposed towards it. Austria's petty persecutions of her Italian subjects in the *irredente* provinces, her active propaganda incompatible with Italian interests in the Balkans, and the anti-Italian war talk of Austrian military circles, imperilled the relations of the two "allies"; it was remarked, indeed, that the object of the alliance between Austria and Italy was to prevent war between them. Austria had persistently adopted a policy of pin-pricks and aggravating police provocation towards the Italians of the Adriatic Littoral and of the Trentino, while encouraging the Slavonic element in the former and the Germans in the latter. One of the causes of ill-feeling was the university question; the Austrian government had persistently refused to create an Italian university for its Italian subjects, fearing lest it should become a hotbed of "irredentism," the Italian-speaking students being thus obliged to attend the German-Austrian universities. An attempt at compromise resulted in the institution of an Italian law faculty at Innsbruck, but this aroused the violent hostility of the German students and populace, who gave proof of their superior civilization by an unprovoked attack on the Italians in October 1902. Further acts of violence were committed by the Germans in 1903, which led to anti-Austrian demonstrations in Italy. The worst tumults occurred in November 1904, when Italian students and professors were attacked at Innsbruck without provocation; being outnumbered by a hundred to one the Italians were forced to use their revolvers in self-defence, and several persons were wounded on both sides. Anti-Italian demonstrations occurred periodically also at Vienna, while in Dalmatia and Croatia Italian fishermen and workmen (Italian citizens, not natives) were subject to attacks by gangs of half-savage Croats, which led to frequent diplomatic "incidents." A further cause of resentment was Austria's attitude towards the Vatican, inspired by the strong clerical tendencies of the imperial family, and indeed of a large section of the Austrian people. But the most serious point at issue was the Balkan question. Italian public opinion could not view without serious misgivings the active political propaganda which Austria was conducting in Albania. The two governments frequently discussed the situation, but although they had agreed to a self-denying ordinance whereby each bound itself not to occupy any part of Albanian territory, Austria's declarations and promises were hardly borne out by the activity of her agents in the Balkans. Italy, therefore, instituted a counter-propaganda by means of schools and commercial agencies. The Macedonian troubles of 1903 again brought Austria and Italy into conflict. The acceptance by the powers of the Mürzsteg programme and the appointment of Austrian and Russian financial agents in Macedonia was an advantage for Austria and a set-back for Italy; but the latter scored a success in the appointment of General de Giorgis as commander of the international Macedonian gendarmerie; she also obtained, with the support of Great Britain, France and Russia, the assignment of the partly Albanian district of Monastir to the Italian officers of that corps.

In October 1908 came the bombshell of the Austrian annexation of Bosnia, announced to King Victor Emmanuel and to other rulers by autograph letters from the emperor-king. The news caused the most widespread sensation, and public opinion in Italy was greatly agitated at what it regarded as an act of brigandage on the part of Austria, when Signor Tittoni in a speech at Carate Brianza (October 6th) declared that "Italy might await events with serenity, and that these could find her neither unprepared nor isolated." These words were taken to mean that Italy would receive compensation to restore the balance of power upset in Austria's favour. When it was found that there was to be no direct compensation for Italy a storm of indignation was aroused against Austria, and also against Signor Tittoni.

On the 29th of October, however, Austria abandoned her military posts in the sandjak of Novibazar; and the frontier between Austria and Turkey, formerly an uncertain one, which left Austria a half-open back door to the Aegean, was now a distinct line of demarcation. Thus the danger of a "pacific penetration" of Macedonia by Austria became more remote. Austria also gave way on another point, renouncing her right to police the Montenegrin coast and to prevent Montenegro from having warships of its own (paragraphs 5, 6 and 11 of art. 29 of the Berlin Treaty) in a note presented to the Italian foreign office

on the 12th of April 1909. Italy had developed some important commercial interests in Montenegro, and anything which strengthened the position of that principality was a guarantee against further Austrian encroachments. The harbour works in the Montenegrin port of Antivari, commenced in March 1905 and completed early in 1909, were an Italian concern, and Italy became a party to the agreement for the Danube-Adriatic Railway (June 2, 1908) together with Russia, France and Servia; Italy was to contribute 35,000,000 lire out of a total capital of 100,000,000, and to be represented by four directors out of twelve. But the whole episode was a warning to Italy, and the result was a national movement for security. Credits for the army and navy were voted almost without a dissentient voice; new battleships were laid down, the strength of the army was increased, and the defences of the exposed eastern border were strengthened. It was clear that so long as Austria, bribed by Germany, could act in a way so opposed to Italian interests in the Balkans, the Triple Alliance was a mockery, and Italy could only meet the situation by being prepared for all contingencies.

The Italian general election of March 1909 had returned a strong majority in favour of Signor Giolitti, but the premier found himself confronted with the question of the steamship subsidies, the old agreements with the companies having lapsed. The bill was defective from various points of view, and the opposition led by Signor Sonnino delivered a series of vigorous attacks on the measure, which shook the position of the cabinet so seriously that Signor Giolitti deemed it prudent to adjourn the debate until the autumn. Signor Enrico Ferri, the Socialist leader, whose experiences among Italian emigrants in South America had convinced him of Italy's need of a more virile foreign policy, delivered a stirring Imperialist speech in the Chamber on the 22nd of June, which marked his severance from the Socialist party and the beginning of its collapse; subsequently he declared himself willing to accept a portfolio were it offered to him. In October the Tsar Nicholas of Russia visited King Victor Emmanuel at Racconigi, an event destined to establish that *entente* between Italy and Russia which was to prove an important feature in the international situation.

When parliament reassembled in the autumn Signor Giolitti was forced to modify the bill on the steamship conventions, but on a point of procedure the cabinet was defeated and resigned (December 2nd). Signor Sonnino was now called upon for the second time to form a ministry, and he succeeded in gathering some of the best talent in the country; Count Guicciardini took the ministry for Foreign Affairs, Signor Luzzatti that of Agriculture and Trade, Signor Salandra that of the Treasury, Admiral Bettolo that of Marine, while General Spingardi remained at the War Office. The new cabinet, however, although it enjoyed the favour of the country at large, could not count on the support of the majority in the chamber which, if it had temporarily seceded from the late premier, was his creation and still Giolittian at heart, and when the debate on the shipping bill as modified by Signor Sonnino was resumed in March 1910 it was clear that his government would be in a minority. On the 21st, after a hundred days of office, as in the case of his former government, he resigned, and Signor Luzzatti formed a new cabinet, which included the marquis di San Giuliano, then Ambassador in Paris (and previously in London), as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Signori Tedesco, Facta, Sacchi and Credaro, Admiral Leonardi Cattolica as Minister of Marine, and General Spingardi as Minister of War. The new premier, in spite of his financial genius and great self-confidence, proved unequal to the task of leading an administration, and it was obvious that he held office on sufferance under the tutelage of Signor Giolitti, who was waiting until the steamship bill and one or two other troublesome questions were settled to return to power. Signor Luzzatti's weakness appeared in his dealings with the various labour agitations, especially in the agrarian riots in Romagna. The 3 % railway loan of 260,000,000 lire to build new lines and double-track and improve existing ones, was quickly covered, although the net profits of the system remained very low owing to extravagant management. In August of that year a cholera epidemic broke out in Apulia and spread to Naples and other parts of Southern Italy; the sanitary officers dealt vigorously with the disease, but the ignorance and superstition of the peasantry in certain districts rendered their task by no means easy. On the 21st of December the premier presented a bill for extending the franchise and providing for compulsory voting, but on the question of the date when the measure was to come up for discussion although the majority voted for the government most of the Radicals voted against it; the two Radical ministers, Signori Sacchi and Credaro, therefore felt bound to resign. The whole cabinet followed suit on the 18th of March 1911, and the king entrusted the now inevitable Signor Giolitti with the formation of a new ministry; most of the former ministers, including Sacchi and Credaro, retained their portfolios. A grotesque incident of this crisis was created by Signor Bissolati, the Socialist deputy; summoned to the Quirinal with a view to being offered a seat in the cabinet, he went, but refused office ostensibly because he could not make up his mind to don a dress suit, in reality because he feared to lose caste with his more uncompromising followers.

The year 1911 being the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the Italian kingdom, great festivities were organized to celebrate the occasion. An international exhibition of fine arts, an ethnographic exhibition of the Italian provinces, and archaeological and

historical shows were held in Rome, an exhibition of Italian portraits in Florence, and an international industrial exhibition in Turin. The two latter were successful in every way, but the Roman exhibitions, although artistically very beautiful, owing to defective organization, an unusually hot summer and a second outbreak of cholera, resulted in a considerable deficit.

The cabinet's programme, presented to the Chamber on the 6th of April, included the extension of the franchise to all illiterates over 30 years old, thus increasing the number of voters from three to eight millions, the payment of members, and the creation of a government monopoly for life insurance. These bills, largely the outcome of a desire to gain the support of the Extreme Left, found little favour in the country, and Signor Sonnino not having succeeded in retaining office, the more active conduct of parliamentary opposition was undertaken by a group of younger members led by Signor Romeo Gallenga, the member for Perugia. In the debate on the Insurance bill the government cut a poor figure and was finally induced to limit the proposed monopoly to policies of over 15,000 lire capital or 1500 lire of annual interest, while the companies were given ten years during which to liquidate their business for insurances below those figures. Even in this modified form the measure was strongly opposed, and the government finally agreed to defer the final debate until the autumn. The Chamber rose on the 10th of July.

In the summer Italy had a dispute with the Argentine Republic in consequence of the cholera epidemic. The Argentine government, professing not to be satisfied with the very drastic precautions taken by the Italian authorities, demanded that Argentine medical commissioners be placed on all emigrant steamers bound from Italian ports to Buenos Ayres. The Italian government, who had its own commissioners on all emigrant vessels, naturally refused to admit this interference with its jurisdiction, whereupon the Argentine established a quite unnecessary quarantine on Italian steamers; Italy retaliated on the 30th of July by suspending emigration to that country. The truculent attitude of the Argentine appeared to indicate its contempt for Italy, and the latter's energetic action, with its injurious consequences to the trade and agriculture of the Republic, probably came as a painful surprise to that government, but did much to enhance Italian prestige and the position of Italian citizens throughout South America. Negotiations were eventually instituted for the conclusion of a sanitary convention, which after much laborious discussion was signed on the 17th of August 1912; the document contained all the provisions on which Italy had insisted so as to prevent similar conflicts from arising in future.

During the last few years Italy's relations with the Ottoman Empire had been growing strained; with the advent to power of the new régime the situation became worse instead of better, for the Young Turks, in their blind hatred of everything foreign and believing Italy the weakest of the great powers, lost no opportunity of showing their contempt for her. Italian enterprise was hampered in every way, and in the vilayet of Tripoli, where Italy's reversionary interests had been recognized by Great Britain and France, where much Italian capital had been invested and where the Italian government had created schools, hospitals, &c., the hostility of the Ottoman authorities was even more marked and the life of Italian residents rendered intolerable. An Italian missionary, Father Guistino, had been murdered by a native at Derna on the 22nd of March 1908, and another Italian, Gastone Terreni, near Tripoli by a Turkish *zaptieh* on the 20th of June, with the direct complicity of the local authorities, but it proved impossible to obtain redress for these crimes. Italy's efforts at conciliation proved unavailing and were regarded as proofs of weakness, "incidents" multiplied, and Turkish gunboats even fired on and sank Italian sailing craft in the Red Sea. Italy had originally intended to extend her influence in Tripolitania only by means of pacific penetration, but with the reopening of the Morocco question, it became clear that the last unoccupied Mediterranean lands were being divided up, and Italy, who with her large emigrant population has need of more territory where her sons can settle under the national flag, realized that this was her last chance of acquiring a colony.

For some time the Nationalist party, which had come into being at the Florence Congress in December 1910, had been conducting a propaganda in favour of a more vigorous foreign policy and roused public opinion to the need for action; although the Giolitti cabinet was most anxious to avoid international complications, it could not disregard the new spirit pervading the Italian people. By July it informed the powers that the conduct of Turkey could no longer be tolerated, and no change for the better having occurred military preparations were begun on the 20th of September. On the 23rd the reservists born in 1888 were called back to the colours, and a Note was presented to the Porte on the 26th calling its attention to the risks to which Moslem fanaticism was subjecting the Italian residents, and adding that the sending of reinforcements or arms to the African vilayet would be regarded as a very serious act. On the 27th the Turkish steamer "Derna," flying the German flag, arrived at Tripoli and disembarked 15,000 rifles which were distributed among the Arabs. The Italian government then sent an ultimatum to that of Turkey on the 28th, and no satisfaction having been obtained declared war on the 29th. On the 4th of November, Italian sovereignty was extended to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica by Royal Decree. Towards the end of November a conflict broke out with France in consequence

of the arrest and search by Italian warships of the two French steamers "Carthage" and "Manouba" suspected of carrying Turkish officers and contraband; the incident led to a violent outburst of anti-Italian hysteria in France, and although it was eventually referred to arbitration, it made the Italian public realize how little it could count on French sympathy, and served to strengthen the somewhat weakening bonds of the Triple Alliance. On the 22nd of February, parliament reassembled, and the bill for converting the sovereignty decree of the 4th of November into law was voted by an overwhelming majority amidst scenes of great patriotic enthusiasm.

Various attempts at mediation were made by the powers, but without success. In July 1912, however, negotiations were instituted between unofficial Italian and Turkish delegates in Switzerland, and after laborious discussions, during which the situation in the Balkans became menacing and Montenegro declared war against Turkey, the peace preliminaries were signed at Ouchy on October the 14th, and the final treaty on the 18th. Turkey renounced her sovereignty over Libya and undertook to withdraw her troops, the Sultan preserving only his spiritual authority as khalif over his former subjects, while Italy agreed to restore the Aegean Islands to Turkey as soon as the Turkish troops had quitted Libya, but the inhabitants were guaranteed liberal reforms and local autonomy. This settlement did not arouse much enthusiasm in Italy, as many believed that, the Balkan States having now declared war against Turkey, Italy might have put herself at their head and eventually acquired great moral prestige throughout the Near East. But the objects for which the war was fought had been achieved, and in view of the situation in the Near East the Italian government wished to have its hands free.

Throughout the campaign officers, soldiers and sailors had shown great bravery, discipline and staying power, while the organization of the army and the navy proved excellent. Some of the commanders, however, came in for much criticism, and the general conduct of the campaign, inspired apparently by political rather than by military considerations, was disapproved of by a part of public opinion. The total expenses of the undertaking are estimated at 458,000,000 lire, including the value of supplies not all of which have been used up, and it is remarkable that this sum was paid for out of the budget surpluses of the last few years, redeemable Treasury bills, Treasury reserves, credits with banks, &c., no loan having been raised nor fresh taxation levied. On the conclusion of peace the Treasury still had 386,000,000 lire at its disposal. Business was not very much affected by the war, and indeed Italian exports during the period from the 1st of January to the 30th of September 1912, in spite of the suspension of trade with Turkey, had increased by 117,000,000 lire over those of the corresponding period of 1911, and the imports by 59,000,000 lire, while the state's principal revenues, from the 1st of October 1911, to the 30th of September 1912, had increased by 79,000,000.

In the field of domestic politics there is little during 1912 to be recorded. An unsuccessful attempt on the king's life by an anarchist named D'Alba on the 14th of March gave occasion for enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty, showing how deeply attached to the monarchy the Italian people had become. The various government bills—the Insurance Monopoly, the extension of the franchise and payment of members—although not popular, were voted by parliament without much opposition, as there was a general determination not to embarrass the ministry as long as the war lasted. The Socialist party, which had been gradually losing its hold over the masses for some time past, now found itself wholly out of touch with popular feeling concerning the war, and while it officially condemned the enterprise many of its leaders refused to put party before country, and were "excommunicated" in consequence at the Congress of Reggio d'Emilia in June. The result was a definite split up of the party into two separate organizations. Signor Giolitti continued to exercise great authority, although with the conclusion of peace a revival of Opposition activity was to be expected.

CHAPTER XIV

PHYSICAL FEATURES

ITALY (*Italia*), is the name applied both in ancient and in modern times to the great peninsula that projects from the mass of central Europe far to the south into the Mediterranean Sea, where the island of Sicily may be considered as a continuation of the continental promontory. The portion of the Mediterranean commonly termed the Tyrrhenian Sea forms its limit on the W. and S., and the Adriatic on the E.; while to the N., where it joins the main continent of Europe, it is separated from the adjacent regions by the mighty barrier of the Alps, which sweeps round in a vast semi-circle from the head of the Adriatic to the shores of Nice and Monaco.

Topography.—The land thus circumscribed extends between the parallels of $46^{\circ} 40'$ and $36^{\circ} 38' N.$, and between $6^{\circ} 30'$ and $18^{\circ} 30' E.$ Its greatest length in a straight line along the mainland is from N.W. to S.E., in which direction it measures 708 m. in a direct line from the frontier near Courmayeur to Cape Sta Maria di Leuca, south Otranto, but the great mountain peninsula of Calabria extends about two degrees farther south to Cape Spartivento in lat. $37^{\circ} 55'$. Its breadth is, owing to its configuration, very irregular. The northern portion, measured from the Alps at the Monte Viso to the mouth of the Po, has a breadth of about 270 m., while the maximum breadth from the Rocca Chiardonnet near Susa to a peak in the valley of the Isonzo, is 354 m. But the peninsula of Italy, which forms the largest portion of the country, nowhere exceeds 150 m. in breadth, while it does not generally measure more than 100 m. across. Its southern extremity, Calabria, forms a complete peninsula, being united to the mass of Lucania or the Basilicata by an isthmus only 35 m. in width, while that between the gulfs of Sta Eufemia and Squillace, which connects the two portions of the province, does not exceed 20 m. The area of the kingdom of Italy, exclusive of the large islands, is computed at 91,277 sq. m. Though the Alps form throughout the northern boundary of Italy, the exact limits at the extremities of the Alpine chain are not clearly marked. Ancient geographers appear to have generally regarded the remarkable headland which descends from the Maritime Alps to the sea between Nice and Monaco as the limit of Italy in that direction, and in a purely geographical point of view it is probably the best point that could be selected. But Augustus, who was the first to give to Italy a definite political organization, carried the frontier to the river Varus or Var, a few miles west of Nice, and this river continued in modern times to be generally recognized as the boundary between France and Italy. But in 1860 the annexation of Nice and the adjoining territory to France brought the political frontier farther east, to a point between Mentone and Ventimiglia which constitutes no natural limit.

Towards the north-east, the point where the Julian Alps approach close to the sea-shore (just at the sources of the little stream known in ancient times as the Timavus) would seem to constitute the best natural limit. But by Augustus the frontier was carried farther east so as to include Tergeste (Trieste), and the little river Formio (Risano) was in the first instance chosen as the limit, but this was subsequently transferred to the river Arsia (the Arsa), which flows into the Gulf of Quarnero, so as to include almost all Istria; and the circumstance that the coast of Istria was throughout the middle ages held by the republic of Venice tended to perpetuate this arrangement, so that Istria was generally regarded as belonging to Italy, though certainly not forming any natural portion of that country. Present Italian aspirations are similarly directed.

The only other part of the northern frontier of Italy where the boundary is not clearly marked by nature is Tirol or the valley of the Adige. Here the main chain of

the Alps (as marked by the watershed) recedes so far to the north that it has never constituted the frontier. In ancient times the upper valleys of the Adige and its tributaries were inhabited by Raetian tribes and included in the province of Raetia; and the line of demarcation between that province and Italy was purely arbitrary, as it remains to this day. Tridentum or Trent was in the time of Pliny included in the tenth region of Italy or Venetia, but he tells us that the inhabitants were a Raetian tribe. At the present day the frontier between Austria and the kingdom of Italy crosses the Adige about 30 m. below Trent—that city and its territory, which previous to the treaty of Lunéville in 1801 was governed by sovereign archbishops, subject only to the German emperors, being now included in the Austrian empire.

While the Alps thus constitute the northern boundary of Italy, its configuration and internal geography are determined almost entirely by the great chain of the Apennines, which branches off from the Maritime Alps between Nice and Genoa, and, after stretching in an unbroken line from the Gulf of Genoa to the Adriatic, turns more to the south, and is continued throughout Central and Southern Italy, of which it forms as it were the backbone, until it ends in the southernmost extremity of Calabria at Cape Spartivento. The great spur or promontory projecting towards the east to Brindisi and Otranto has no direct connexion with the central chain.

One chief result of the manner in which the Apennines traverse Italy from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic is the marked division between Northern Italy, including the region north of the Apennines and extending thence to the foot of the Alps, and the central and more southerly portions of the peninsula. No such line of separation exists farther south, and the terms Central and Southern Italy, though in general use among geographers and convenient for descriptive purposes, do not correspond to any natural divisions.

1. *Northern Italy*.—By far the larger portion of Northern Italy is occupied by the basin of the Po, which comprises the whole of the broad plain extending from the foot of the Apennines to that of the Alps, together with the valleys and slopes on both sides of it. From its source in Monte Viso to its outflow into the Adriatic—a distance of more than 220 m. in a direct line—the Po receives all the waters that flow from the Apennines northwards, and all those that descend from the Alps towards the south, Mincio (the outlet of the Lake of Garda) inclusive. The next river to the E. is the Adige, which, after pursuing a parallel course with the Po for a considerable distance, enters the Adriatic by a separate mouth. Farther to the N. and N.E. the various rivers of Venetia fall directly into the Gulf of Venice.

There is no other instance in Europe of a basin of similar extent equally clearly characterized—the perfectly level character of the plain being as striking as the boldness with which the lower slopes of the mountain ranges begin to rise on each side of it. This is most clearly marked on the side of the Apennines, where the great Aemilian Way, which has been the high road from the time of the Romans to our own, preserves an unbroken straight line from Rimini to Piacenza, a distance of more than 150 m., during which the underfalls of the mountains continually approach it on the left, without once crossing the line of road.

The geography of Northern Italy will be best described by following the course of the Po. That river has its origin as a mountain torrent descending from two little dark lakes on the north flank of Monte Viso, at a height of more than 6000 ft. above the sea; and after a course of less than 20 m. it enters the plain at Saluzzo, between which and Turin, a distance of only 30 m., it receives three considerable tributaries—the Chisone on its left bank, bringing down the waters from the valley of Fenestrelle, and the Varaita and Maira on the south, contributing those of two valleys of the Alps immediately south of that of the Po itself. A few miles below Valenza it is joined by the Tanaro, a large stream, which brings with it the united waters of the Stura, the Bormida and several minor rivers.

More important are the rivers that descend from the main chain of the Graian and Pennine Alps and join the Po on its left bank. Of these the Dora (called for distinction's sake *Dora Riparia*), which unites with the greater river just below Turin, has its source in the Mont Genève, and flows past Susa at the foot of the Mont Cenis. Next comes the Stura, which rises in the glaciers of the Roche Melon; then the Orca, flowing through the Val di Locana; and then the Dora Baltea, one of the greatest of all the Alpine tributaries of the Po, which has its source in the glaciers of Mont Blanc, above Courmayeur, and thence descends through the Val d'Aosta for about 70 m. till it enters the plain at Ivrea, and, after flowing about 20 m. more, joins the Po a few miles below Chivasso. This great valley—one of the most considerable on the southern side of the Alps—has attracted special attention, in ancient as well as modern times, from its leading to two of the most frequented passes across the great mountain chain—the Great and the Little St Bernard—the former diverging at Aosta, and crossing the main ridges to the north into the valley of the Rhone, the other following a more westerly direction into Savoy. Below Aosta also the Dora Baltea receives several considerable tributaries, which descend from the glaciers between Mont Blanc and Monte Rosa.

About 25 m. below its confluence with the Dora, the Po receives the Sesia, also a large river, which has its source above Alagna at the southern foot of Monte Rosa, and after flowing by Varallo and Vercelli falls into the Po about 14 m. below the latter city. About

30 m. east of this confluence—in the course of which the Po makes a great bend south to Valenza, and then returns again to the northward—it is joined by the Ticino, a large and rapid river, which brings with it the outflow of Lago Maggiore and all the waters that flow into it. Of these the Ticino itself has its source about 10 m. above Airola at the foot of the St Gotthard, and after flowing above 36 m. through the Val Leventina to Bellinzona (where it is joined by the Moësa bringing down the waters of the Val Misocco) enters the lake through a marshy plain at Magadino, about 10 m. distant. On the west side of the lake the Toccia or Tosa descends from the pass of the Gries nearly due south to Domodossola, where it receives the waters of the Doveria from the Simplon, and a few miles lower down those of the Val d'Anzasca from the foot of Monte Rosa, and 12 m. farther has its outlet into the lake between Baveno and Pallanza. The Lago Maggiore is also the receptacle of the waters of the Lago di Lugano on the east and the Lago d'Orta on the west.

The next great affluent of the Po, the Adda, forms the outflow of the Lake of Como, and has also its sources in the Alps, above Bormio, whence it flows through the broad and fertile valley of the Valtellina for more than 65 m. till it enters the lake near Colico. The Adda in this part of its course has a direction almost due east to west; but at the point where it reaches the lake, the Liro descends the valley of S. Giacomo, which runs nearly north and south from the pass of the Splügen, thus affording one of the most direct lines of communication across the Alps. The Adda flows out of the lake at its south-eastern extremity at Lecco, and has thence a course through the plain of above 70 m. till it enters the Po between Piacenza and Cremona. It flows by Lodi and Pizzighettone, and receives the waters of the Brembo, descending from the Val Brembana, and the Serio from the Val Seriana above Bergamo. The Oglio, a more considerable stream than either of the last two, rises in the Monte Tonale above Edolo, and descends through the Val Camonica to Lovere, where it expands into a large lake, called Iseo from the town of that name on its southern shore. Issuing thence at its south-west extremity, the Oglio has a long and winding course through the plain before it finally reaches the Po a few miles above Borgoforte. In this lower part it receives the smaller streams of the Mella, which flows by Brescia, and the Chiese, which proceeds from the small Lago d'Idro, between the Lago d'Iseo and that of Garda.

The last of the great tributaries of the Po is the Mincio, which flows from the Lago di Garda, and has a course of about 40 m. from Peschiera, where it issues from the lake at its south-eastern angle, till it joins the Po. About 12 m. above the confluence it passes under the walls of Mantua, and expands into a broad lake-like reach so as entirely to encircle that city. Notwithstanding its extent, the Lago di Garda is not fed by the snows of the high Alps, nor is the stream which enters it at its northern extremity (at Riva) commonly known as the Mincio, though forming the main source of that river, but is termed the Sarca; it rises at the foot of Monte Tonale.

The Adige, formed by the junction of two streams—the Etsch or Adige proper and the Eisak, both of which belong to Tirol rather than to Italy—descends as far as Verona, where it enters the great plain, with a course from north to south nearly parallel to the rivers last described, and would seem likely to discharge its waters into those of the Po, but below Legnago it turns eastward and runs parallel to the Po for about 40 m., entering the Adriatic by an independent mouth about 8 m. from the northern outlet of the greater stream. The waters of the two rivers have, however, been made to communicate by artificial cuts and canals in more than one place.

The Po itself, which is here a very large stream, with an average width of 400 to 600 yds., continues to flow with an undivided mass of waters as far as Sta Maria di Ariano, where it parts into two arms, known as the Po di Maestra and Po di Goro, and these again are subdivided into several other branches, forming a delta above 20 m. in width from north to south. The point of bifurcation, at present about 25 m. from the sea, was formerly much farther inland, more than 10 m. west of Ferrara, where a small arm of the river, still called the Po di Ferrara, branches from the main stream. Previous to the year 1154 this channel was the main stream, and the two small branches into which it subdivides, called the Po di Volano and Po di Primaro, were in early times the two main outlets of the river. The southernmost of these, the Po di Primaro, enters the Adriatic about 12 m. north of Ravenna, so that if these two arms be included, the delta of the Po extends about 36 m. from south to north. The whole course of the river, including its windings, is estimated at about 450 m.

Besides the delta of the Po and the large marshy tracts which it forms, there exist on both sides of it extensive lagoons of salt water, generally separated from the Adriatic by narrow strips of sand or embankments, partly natural and partly artificial, but having openings which admit the influx and efflux of the sea-water, and serve as ports for communication with the mainland. The best known and the most extensive of these lagoons is that in which Venice is situated, which extends from Torcello in the north to Chioggia and Brondolo in the south, a distance of about 40 m.; but they were formerly much more extensive, and afforded a continuous means of internal navigation, by what were called "the Seven Seas" (Septem Maria), from Ravenna to Altinum, a few miles north of Torcello. That city, like Ravenna, originally stood in the midst of a lagoon; and the coast east of it to near Monfalcone, where it meets the mountains, is occupied by similar expanses of water, which are, however, becoming gradually converted into dry land.

The tract adjoining this long line of lagoons is, like the basin of the Po, a broad expanse of perfectly level alluvial plain, extending from the Adige eastwards to the Carnic Alps, where they approach close to the Adriatic between Aquileia and Trieste, and northwards to the foot of the great chain, which here sweeps round in a semicircle from the neighbourhood of Vicenza to that of Aquileia. The space thus included was known in ancient times as Venetia, a name applied in the middle ages to the well-known city; the eastern portion of it became known in the middle ages as the Frioul or Friuli.

Returning to the south of the Po, the tributaries of that river on its right bank below the Tanaro are very inferior in volume and importance to those from the north. Flowing from the Ligurian Apennines, which never attain the limit of perpetual snow, they generally dwindle in summer into insignificant streams. Beginning from the Tanaro, the principal of them are—(1) the Scrivia, a small but rapid stream flowing from the Apennines at the back of Genoa; (2) the Trebbia, a much larger river, though of the same torrent-like character, which rises near Torriglia within 20 m. of Genoa, flows by Bobbio, and joins the Po a few miles above Piacenza; (3) the Nure, a few miles east of the preceding; (4) the Taro, a more considerable stream; (5) the Parma, flowing by the city of the same name; (6) the Enza; (7) the Secchia, which flows by Modena; (8) The Panaro, a few miles to the east of that city; (9) the Reno, which flows by Bologna, but instead of holding its course till it discharges its waters into the Po, as it did in Roman times, is turned aside by an artificial channel into the Po di Primaro. The other small streams east of this—of which the most considerable are the Solaro, the Santerno, flowing by Imola, the Lamone by Faenza, the Montone by Forlì, all in Roman times tributaries of the Po—have their outlet in like manner into the Po di Primaro, or by artificial mouths into the Adriatic between Ravenna and Rimini. The river Marecchia, which enters the sea immediately north of Rimini, may be considered as the natural limit of Northern Italy. It was adopted by Augustus as the boundary of Gallia Cispadana; the far-famed Rubicon was a trifling stream a few miles farther north, now called Fiumicino. The Savio is the only other stream of any importance which has always flowed directly into the Adriatic from this side of the Tuscan Apennines.

The narrow strip of coast-land between the Maritime Alps, the Apennines and the sea—called in ancient times Liguria, and now known as the Riviera of Genoa—is throughout its extent, from Nice to Genoa on the one side, and from Genoa to Spezia on the other, almost wholly mountainous. It is occupied by the branches and offshoots of the mountain ranges which separate it from the great plain to the north, and send down their lateral ridges close to the water's edge, leaving only in places a few square miles of level plains at the mouths of the rivers and openings of the valleys. The district is by no means devoid of fertility, the steep slopes facing the south enjoying so fine a climate as to render them very favourable for the growth of fruit trees, especially the olive, which is cultivated in terraces to a considerable height up the face of the mountains, while the openings of the valleys are generally occupied by towns or villages, some of which have become favourite winter resorts.

From the proximity of the mountains to the sea none of the rivers in this part of Italy has a long course, and they are generally mere mountain torrents, rapid and swollen in winter and spring, and almost dry in summer. The largest and most important are those which descend from the Maritime Alps between Nice and Albenga. The most considerable of them are—the Roja, which rises in the Col di Tenda and descends to Ventimiglia; the Taggia, between San Remo and Oneglia; and the Centa, which enters the sea at Albenga. The Lavagna, which enters the sea at Chiavari, is the only stream of any importance between Genoa and the Gulf of Spezia. But immediately east of that inlet (a remarkable instance of a deep land-locked gulf with no river flowing into it) the Magra, which descends from Pontremoli down the valley known as the Lunigiana, is a large stream, and brings with it the waters of another considerable stream, the Vara. The Magra (Macra), in ancient times the boundary between Liguria and Etruria, may be considered as constituting on this side the limit of Northern Italy.

The Apennines, as has been already mentioned, here traverse the whole breadth of Italy, cutting off the peninsula properly so termed from the broader mass of Northern Italy by a continuous barrier of considerable breadth, though of far inferior elevation to that of the Alps. The Ligurian Apennines may be considered as taking their rise in the neighbourhood of Savona, where a pass of very moderate elevation connects them with the Maritime Alps, of which they are in fact only a continuation. From the neighbourhood of Savona to that of Genoa they do not rise to more than 3000 to 4000 ft., and are traversed by passes of less than 2000 ft. As they extend towards the east they increase in elevation; the Monte Bue rises to 5915 ft., while the Monte Cimone, a little farther east, attains 7103 ft. This is the highest point in the northern Apennines, and belongs to a group of summits of nearly equal altitude; the range which is continued thence between Tuscany and what are now known as the Emilian provinces presents a continuous ridge from the mountains at the head of the Val di Mugello (due north of Florence) to the point where they are traversed by the celebrated Furlo Pass. The highest point in this part of the range is the Monte Falterona, above the sources of the Arno, which attains 5410 ft. Throughout

this tract the Apennines are generally covered with extensive forests of chestnut, oak and beech; while their upper slopes afford admirable pasturage. Few towns of any importance are found either on their northern or southern declivity, and the former region especially, though occupying a tract of from 30 to 40 m. in width, between the crest of the Apennines and the plain of the Po, is one of the least known and at the same time least interesting portions of Italy.

2. *Central Italy*.—The geography of Central Italy is almost wholly determined by the Apennines, which traverse it in a direction from about north-east to south-south-west, almost precisely parallel to that of the coast of the Adriatic from Rimini to Pescara. The line of the highest summits and of the watershed ranges is about 30 to 40 m. from the Adriatic, while about double that distance separates it from the Tyrrhenian Sea on the west. In this part of the range almost all the highest points of the Apennines are found. Beginning from the group called the Alpi della Luna near the sources of the Tiber, which attain 4435 ft., they are continued by the Monte Nerone (5010 ft.), Monte Catria (5590), and Monte Maggio to the Monte Pennino near Nocera (5169 ft.), and thence to the Monte della Sibilla, at the source of the Nar or Nera, which attains 7663 ft. Proceeding thence southwards, we find in succession the Monte Vettore (8128 ft.), the Pizzo di Sevo (7945 ft.), and the two great mountain masses of the Monte Corno, commonly called the Gran Sasso d'Italia, the most lofty of all the Apennines, attaining to a height of 9560 ft., and the Monte della Maiella, its highest summit measuring 9170 ft. Farther south no very lofty summits are found till we come to the group of Monti del Matese, in Samnium (6660 ft.), which according to the division here adopted belongs to Southern Italy. Besides the lofty central masses enumerated there are two other lofty peaks, outliers from the main range, and separated from it by valleys of considerable extent. These are the Monte Terminillo, near Leonessa (7278 ft.), and the Monte Velino near the Lake Fucino, rising to 8192 ft., both of which are covered with snow from November till May. But the Apennines of Central Italy, instead of presenting, like the Alps and the northern Apennines, a definite central ridge, with transverse valleys leading down from it on both sides, in reality constitute a mountain mass of very considerable breadth, composed of a number of minor ranges and groups of mountains, which preserve a generally parallel direction, and are separated by upland valleys, some of them of considerable extent as well as considerable elevation above the sea. Such is the basin of Lake Fucino, situated in the centre of the mass, almost exactly midway between the two seas, at an elevation of 2180 ft. above them; while the upper valley of the Aterno, in which Aquila is situated, is 2380 ft. above the sea. Still more elevated is the valley of the Gizio (a tributary of the Aterno), of which Sulmona is the chief town. This communicates with the upper valley of the Sangro by a level plain called the Piano di Cinque Miglia, at an elevation of 4298 ft., regarded as the most wintry spot in Italy. Nor do the highest summits form a continuous ridge of great altitude for any considerable distance; they are rather a series of groups separated by tracts of very inferior elevation forming natural passes across the range, and broken in some places (as is the case in almost all limestone countries) by the waters from the upland valleys turning suddenly at right angles, and breaking through the mountain ranges which bound them. Thus the Gran Sasso and the Maiella are separated by the deep valley of the Aterno, while the Tronto breaks through the range between Monte Vettore and the Pizzo di Sevo. This constitution of the great mass of the central Apennines has in all ages exercised an important influence upon the character of this portion of Italy, which may be considered as divided by nature into two great regions, a cold and barren upland country, bordered on both sides by rich and fertile tracts, enjoying a warm but temperate climate.

The district west of the Apennines, a region of great beauty and fertility, though inferior in productiveness to Northern Italy, coincides in a general way with the countries familiar to all students of ancient history as Etruria and Latium. Until the union of Italy they were comprised in Tuscany and the southern Papal States. The northern part of Tuscany is indeed occupied to a considerable extent by the underfalls and offshoots of the Apennines, which, besides the slopes and spurs of the main range that constitutes its northern frontier towards the plain of the Po, throw off several outlying ranges or groups. Of these the most remarkable is the group between the valleys of the Serchio and the Magra, commonly known as the mountains of Carrara, from the celebrated marble quarries in the vicinity of that city. Two of the summits of this group, the Pizzo d'Uccello and the Pania della Croce, attain 6155 and 6100 ft. Another lateral range, the Prato Magno, which branches off from the central chain at the Monte Falterona, and separates the upper valley of the Arno from its second basin, rises to 5188 ft.; while a similar branch, called the Alpe di Catenaja, of inferior elevation, divides the upper course of the Arno from that of the Tiber.

The rest of this tract is for the most part a hilly, broken country, of moderate elevation, but Monte Amiata, near Radicofani, an isolated mass of volcanic origin, attains a height of 5650 ft. South of this the country between the frontier of Tuscany and the Tiber is in great part of volcanic origin, forming hills with distinct crater-shaped basins, in several instances occupied by small lakes (the Lake of Bolsena, Lake of Vico and Lake of Bracciano). This volcanic tract extends across the Campagna of Rome, till it rises again in the lofty group of the Alban hills, the highest summit of which, the Monte Cavo, is 3160 ft. above the

sea. In this part the Apennines are separated from the sea, distant about 30 m., by the undulating volcanic plain of the Roman Campagna, from which the mountains rise in a wall-like barrier, of which the highest point, the Monte Gennaro, attains 4165 ft. South of Palestrina again, the main mass of the Apennines throws off another lateral mass, known in ancient times as the Volscian mountains (now called the Monti Lepini), separated from the central ranges by the broad valley of the Sacco, a tributary of the Liri (Liris) or Gargigliano, and forming a large and rugged mountain mass, nearly 5000 ft. in height, which descends to the sea at Terracina, and between that point and the mouth of the Liri throws out several rugged mountain headlands, which may be considered as constituting the natural boundary between Latium and Campania, and consequently the natural limit of Central Italy. Besides these offshoots of the Apennines there are in this part of Central Italy several detached mountains, rising almost like islands on the seashore, of which the two most remarkable are the Monte Argentaro on the coast of Tuscany near Orbetello (2087 ft.) and the Monte Circello (1771 ft.) at the angle of the Pontine Marshes, by the whole breadth of which it is separated from the Volscian Apennines.

The two valleys of the Arno and the Tiber (Ital. *Tevere*) may be considered as furnishing the key to the geography of all this portion of Italy west of the Apennines. The Arno, which has its source in the Monte Falterona, one of the most elevated summits of the main chain of the Tuscan Apennines, flows nearly south till in the neighbourhood of Arezzo it turns abruptly north-west, and pursues that course as far as Pontassieve, where it again makes a sudden bend to the west, and pursues a westerly course thence to the sea, passing through Florence and Pisa. Its principal tributary is the Sieve, which joins it at Pontassieve, bringing down the waters of the Val di Mugello. The Elaso and the Era, which join it on its left bank, descending from the hills near Siena and Volterra, are inconsiderable streams; and the Serchio, which flows from the territory of Lucca and the Alpi Apuani, and formerly joined the Arno a few miles from its mouth, now enters the sea by a separate channel. The most considerable rivers of Tuscany south of the Arno are the Cecina, which flows through the plain below Volterra, and the Ombrone, which rises in the hills near Siena, and enters the sea about 12 m. below Grosseto.

The Tiber, a much more important river than the Arno, and the largest in Italy with the exception of the Po, rises in the Apennines, about 20 m. east of the source of the Arno, and flows nearly south by Borgo S. Sepolcro and Città di Castello, then between Perugia and Todi to Orte, just below which it receives the Nera. The Nera, which rises in the lofty group of the Monte della Sibilla, is a considerable stream, and brings with it the waters of the Velino (with its tributaries the Turano and the Salto), which joins it a few miles below its celebrated waterfall at Terni. The Teverone or Anio, which enters the Tiber a few miles above Rome, is an inferior stream to the Nera, but brings down a considerable body of water from the mountains above Subiaco. It is a singular fact in the geography of Central Italy that the valleys of the Tiber and Arno are in some measure connected by that of the Chiana, a level and marshy tract, the waters from which flow partly into the Arno and partly into the Tiber.

The eastern declivity of the central Apennines towards the Adriatic is far less interesting and varied than the western. The central range here approaches much nearer to the sea, and hence, with few exceptions, the rivers that flow from it have short courses and are of comparatively little importance. They may be enumerated, proceeding from Rimini southwards: (1) the Foglia; (2) the Metauro, of historical celebrity, and affording access to one of the most frequented passes of the Apennines; (3) the Esino; (4) the Potenza; (5) the Chienti; (6) the Aso; (7) the Tronto; (8) the Vomano; (9) the Aterno; (10) the Sangro; (11) the Trigno, which forms the boundary of the southernmost province of the Abruzzi, and may therefore be taken as the limit of Central Italy.

The whole of this portion of Central Italy is a hilly country, much broken and cut up by the torrents from the mountains, but fertile, especially in fruit-trees, olives and vines; and it has been, both in ancient and modern times, a populous district, containing many small towns though no great cities. Its chief disadvantage is the absence of ports, the coast preserving an almost unbroken straight line, with the single exception of Ancona, the only port worthy of the name on the eastern coast of Central Italy.

3. *Southern Italy*.—The great central mass of the Apennines, which has held its course throughout Central Italy, with a general direction from north-west to south-east, may be considered as continued in the same direction for about 100 m. farther, from the basin-shaped group of the Monti del Matese (which rises to 6660 ft.) to the neighbourhood of Potenza, in the heart of the province of Basilicata, corresponding nearly to the ancient Lucania. The whole of the district known in ancient times as Samnium (a part of which retains the name of Sannio, though officially designated the province of Campobasso) is occupied by an irregular mass of mountains, of much inferior height to those of Central Italy, and broken up into a number of groups, intersected by rivers, which have for the most part a very tortuous course. This mountainous tract, which has an average breadth of from 50 to 60 m., is bounded west by the plain of Campania, now called the Terra di Lavoro, and east by the much broader and more extensive tract of Apulia or Puglia, composed partly of level plains, but for the most part of undulating downs, contrasting strongly

with the mountain ranges of the Apennines, which rise abruptly above them. The central mass of the mountains, however, throws out two outlying ranges, the one to the west, which separates the Bay of Naples from that of Salerno, and culminates in the Monte S. Angelo above Castellammare (4720 ft.), while the detached volcanic cone of Vesuvius (nearly 4000 ft.) is isolated from the neighbouring mountains by an intervening strip of plain. On the east side in like manner the Monte Gargano (3465 ft.), a detached limestone mass which projects in a bold spur-like promontory into the Adriatic, forming the only break in the otherwise uniform coast-line of Italy on that sea, though separated from the great body of the Apennines by a considerable interval of low country, may be considered as merely an outlier from the central mass.

From the neighbourhood of Potenza, the main ridge of the Apennines is continued by the Monti della Maddalena in a direction nearly due south, so that it approaches within a short distance of the Gulf of Policastro, whence it is carried on as far as the Monte Pollino, the last of the lofty summits of the Apennine chain, which exceeds 7000 ft. in height. The range is, however, continued through the province now called Calabria, to the southern extremity or "toe" of Italy, but presents in this part a very much altered character, the broken limestone range which is the true continuation of the chain as far as the neighbourhood of Nicastro and Catanzaro, and keeps close to the west coast, being flanked on the east by a great mass of granitic mountains, rising to about 6000 ft., and covered with vast forests, from which it derives the name of La Sila. A similar mass, separated from the preceding by a low neck of Tertiary hills, fills up the whole of the peninsular extremity of Italy from Squillace to Reggio. Its highest point is called Aspromonte (6420 ft.).

While the rugged and mountainous district of Calabria, extending nearly due south for a distance of more than 150 m., thus derives its character and configuration almost wholly from the range of the Apennines, the long spur-like promontory which projects towards the east to Brindisi and Otranto is merely a continuation of the low tract of Apulia, with a dry calcareous soil of Tertiary origin. The Monte Vulture, which rises in the neighbourhood of Melfi and Venosa to 4357 ft., is of volcanic origin, and in great measure detached from the adjoining mass of the Apennines. Eastward from this the ranges of low bare hills called the Murgie of Gravina and Altamura gradually sink into the still more moderate level of those which constitute the peninsular tract between Brindisi and Taranto as far as the Cape of Sta Maria di Leuca, the south-east extremity of Italy. This projecting tract, which may be termed the "heel" or "spur" of Southern Italy, in conjunction with the great promontory of Calabria, forms the deep Gulf of Taranto, about 70 m. in width, and of remarkable depth, which receives a number of streams from the central mass of the Apennines.

None of the rivers of Southern Italy is of any great importance. The Liri (Liris) or Garigliano, which has its source in the central Apennines above Sora, not far from Lake Fucino, and enters the Gulf of Gaeta about 10 m. east of the city of that name, brings down a considerable body of water; as does also the Volturno, which rises in the mountains between Castel di Sangro and Agnone, flows past Isernia, Venafro and Capua, and enters the sea about 15 m. from the mouth of the Garigliano. About 16 m. above Capua it receives the Calore, which flows by Benevento. The Silarus or Sele enters the Gulf of Salerno a few miles below the ruins of Paestum. Below this the watershed of the Apennines is too near to the sea on that side to allow the formation of any large streams. Hence the rivers that flow in the opposite direction into the Adriatic and the Gulf of Taranto have much longer courses, though all partake of the character of mountain torrents, rushing down with great violence in winter and after storms, but dwindling in the summer into scanty streams, which hold a winding and sluggish course through the great plains of Apulia. Proceeding south from the Trigno, already mentioned as constituting the limit of Central Italy, there are (1) the Biferno and (2) the Fortore, both rising in the mountains of Samnium, and flowing into the Adriatic west of Monte Gargano; (3) the Cervaro, south of the great promontory; and (4) the Ofanto, the Aufidus of Horace, whose description of it is characteristic of almost all the rivers of Southern Italy, of which it may be taken as the typical representative. It rises about 15 m. west of Conza, and only about 25 m. from the Gulf of Salerno, so that it is frequently (though erroneously) described as traversing the whole range of the Apennines. In its lower course it flows near Canosa and traverses the celebrated battlefield of Cannae. (5) The Bradano, which rises near Venosa, almost at the foot of Monte Vulture, flows towards the south-east into the Gulf of Taranto, as do the Basento, the Agri and the Sinni, all of which descend from the central chain of the Apennines south of Potenza. The Crati, which flows from Cosenza northwards, and then turns abruptly eastward to enter the same gulf, is the only stream worthy of notice in the rugged peninsula of Calabria; while the arid limestone hills projecting eastwards to Capo di Leuca do not give rise to anything more than a mere streamlet, from the mouth of the Ofanto to the south-eastern extremity of Italy.

The only important lakes are those on or near the north frontier, formed by the expansion of the tributaries of the Po. They have been already noticed in connexion with the rivers by which they are formed, but may be again enumerated in order of succession. They

are, proceeding from west to east, (1) the Lago d'Orta, (2) the Lago Maggiore, (3) the Lago di Lugano, (4) the Lago di Como, (5) the Lago d'Iseo, (6) the Lago d'Idro, and (7) the Lago di Garda. Of these the last named is considerably the largest, covering an area of 143 sq. m. It is $32\frac{1}{2}$ m. long by 10 broad; while the Lago Maggiore, notwithstanding its name, though considerably exceeding it in length (37 m.), falls materially below it in superficial extent. They are all of great depth—the Lago Maggiore having an extreme depth of 1198 ft., while that of Como attains to 1365 ft. Of a wholly different character is the Lago di Varese, between the Lago Maggiore and that of Lugano, which is a mere shallow expanse of water, surrounded by hills of very moderate elevation. Two other small lakes in the same neighbourhood, as well as those of Erba and Pusiano, between Como and Lecco, are of a similar character.

The lakes of Central Italy, which are comparatively of trifling dimensions, belong to a wholly different class. The most important of these, the Lacus Fucinus of the ancients, now called the Lago di Celano, situated almost exactly in the centre of the peninsula, occupies a basin of considerable extent, surrounded by mountains and without any natural outlet, at an elevation of more than 2000 ft. Its waters have been in great part carried off by an artificial channel, and more than half its surface laid bare. Next in size is the Lago Trasimeno, a broad expanse of shallow waters, about 30 m. in circumference, surrounded by low hills. The neighbouring lake of Chiusi is of similar character, but much smaller dimensions. All the other lakes of Central Italy, which are scattered through the volcanic districts west of the Apennines, are of an entirely different formation, and occupy deep cup-shaped hollows, which have undoubtedly at one time formed the craters of extinct volcanoes. Such is the Lago di Bolsena, near the city of the same name, which is an extensive sheet of water, as well as the much smaller Lago di Vico (the Ciminian lake of ancient writers) and the Lago di Bracciano, nearer Rome, while to the south of Rome the well known lakes of Albano and Nemi have a similar origin.

The only lake properly so called in southern Italy is the Lago del Matese, in the heart of the mountain group of the same name, of small extent. The so-called lakes on the coast of the Adriatic north and south of the promontory of Gargano are brackish lagoons communicating with the sea.

The three great islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica are closely connected with Italy, both by geographical position and community of language, but they are considered at length in separate articles. Of the smaller islands that lie near the coasts of Italy, the most considerable is that of Elba, off the west coast of central Italy, about 50 m. S. of Leghorn, and separated from the mainland at Piombino by a strait of only about 6 m. in width. North of this, and about midway between Corsica and Tuscany, is the small island of Capraia, steep and rocky, and only $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. long, but with a secure port; Gorgona, about 25 m. farther north, is still smaller, and is a mere rock, inhabited by a few fishermen. South of Elba are the equally insignificant islets of Pianosa and Montecristo, while the more considerable island of Giglio lies much nearer the mainland, immediately opposite the mountain promontory of Monte Argentaro, itself almost an island. The islands farther south in the Tyrrhenian Sea are of an entirely different character. Of these Ischia and Procida, close to the northern headland of the Bay of Naples, are of volcanic origin, as is the case also with the more distant group of the Ponza Islands. These are three in number—Ponza, Palmarola and Zannone; while Ventotene (also of volcanic formation) is about midway between Ponza and Ischia. The island of Capri, on the other hand, opposite the southern promontory of the Bay of Naples, is a precipitous limestone rock. The Aeolian or Lipari Islands, a remarkable volcanic group, belong rather to Sicily than to Italy, though Stromboli, the most easterly of them, is about equidistant from Sicily and from the mainland.

The Italian coast of the Adriatic presents a great contrast to its opposite shores, for while the coast of Dalmatia is bordered by a succession of islands, great and small, the long and uniform coast-line of Italy from Otranto to Rimini presents not a single adjacent island; and the small outlying group of the Tremiti Islands (north of the Monte Gargano and about 15 m. from the mainland) alone breaks the monotony of this part of the Adriatic.

Climate and Vegetation.—The geographical position of Italy, extending from about 46° to 38° N., renders it one of the hottest countries in Europe. But the effect of its southern latitude is tempered by its peninsular character, bounded as it is on both sides by seas of considerable extent, as well as by the great range of the Alps with its snows and glaciers to the north. There are thus irregular variations of climate. Great differences also exist with regard to climate between northern and southern Italy, due in great part to other circumstances as well as to differences of latitude. Thus the great plain of northern Italy is chilled by the cold winds from the Alps, while the damp warm winds from the Mediterranean are to a great extent intercepted by the Ligurian Apennines. Hence this part of the country has a cold winter climate, so that while the mean summer temperature of Milan is higher than that of Sassari, and equal to that of Naples, and the extremes reached at Milan and Bologna are a good deal higher than those of Naples, the mean winter temperature of Turin is actually lower than that of Copenhagen. The lowest recorded winter temperature at Turin is 5° Fahr. Throughout the region north of the Apennines

no plants will thrive which cannot stand occasional severe frosts in winter, so that not only oranges and lemons but even the olive tree cannot be grown, except in specially favoured situations. But the strip of coast between the Apennines and the sea, known as the Riviera of Genoa, is not only extremely favourable to the growth of olives, but produces oranges and lemons in abundance, while even the aloe, the cactus and the palm flourish in many places.

Central Italy also presents striking differences of climate and temperature according to the greater or less proximity to the mountains. Thus the greater part of Tuscany, and the provinces thence to Rome, enjoy a mild winter climate, and are well adapted to the growth of mulberries and olives as well as vines, but it is not till after passing Terracina, in proceeding along the western coast towards the south, that the vegetation of southern Italy develops in its full luxuriance. Even in the central parts of Tuscany, however, the climate is very much affected by the neighbouring mountains, and the increasing elevation of the Apennines as they proceed south produces a corresponding effect upon the temperature. But it is when we reach the central range of the Apennines that we find the coldest districts of Italy. In all the upland valleys of the Abruzzi snow begins to fall early in November, and heavy storms occur often as late as May; whole communities are shut out for months from any intercourse with their neighbours, and some villages are so long buried in snow that regular passages are made between the different houses for the sake of communication among the inhabitants. The districts from the south-east of Lake Fucino to the Piano di Cinque Miglia, enclosing the upper basin of the Sangro and the small lake of Scanno, is the coldest and most bleak part of Italy south of the Alps. Heavy falls of snow in June are not uncommon, and only for a short time towards the end of July are the nights totally exempt from light frosts. Yet less than 40 m. E. of this district, and even more to the north, the olive, the fig-tree and the orange thrive luxuriantly on the shores of the Adriatic from Ortona to Vasto. In the same way, whilst in the plains and hills round Naples snow is rarely seen, and never remains long, and the thermometer seldom descends to the freezing-point, 20 m. E. from it in the fertile valley of Avellino, of no great elevation, but encircled by high mountains, light frosts are not uncommon as late as June; and 18 m. farther east, in the elevated region of San Angelo dei Lombardi and Bisaccia, the inhabitants are always warmly clad, and vines grow with difficulty and only in sheltered places. Still farther south-east, Potenza has almost the coldest climate in Italy, and certainly the lowest summer temperatures. But nowhere are these contrasts so striking as in Calabria. The shores, especially on the Tyrrhenian Sea, present almost a continued grove of olive, orange, lemon and citron trees, which attain a size unknown in the north of Italy. The sugar-cane flourishes, the cotton-plant ripens to perfection, date-trees are seen in the gardens, the rocks are clothed with the prickly-pear or Indian fig, the enclosures of the fields are formed by aloes and sometimes pomegranates, the liquorice-root grows wild, and the mastic, the myrtle and many varieties of oleander and cistus form the underwood of the natural forests of arbutus and evergreen oak. If we turn inland but 5 or 6 m. from the shore, and often even less, the scene changes. High districts covered with oaks and chestnuts succeed to this almost tropical vegetation; a little higher up and we reach the elevated regions of the Pollino and the Sila, covered with firs and pines, and affording rich pastures even in the midst of summer, when heavy dews and light frosts succeed each other in July and August, and snow begins to appear at the end of September or early in October. Along the shores of the Adriatic, which are exposed to the north-east winds, blowing coldly from over the Albanian mountains, delicate plants do not thrive so well in general as under the same latitude along the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Southern Italy indeed has in general a very different climate from the northern portion of the kingdom; and, though large tracts are still occupied by rugged mountains of sufficient elevation to retain the snow for a considerable part of the year, the districts adjoining the sea enjoy a climate similar to that of Greece and the southern provinces of Spain. Unfortunately several of these fertile tracts suffer severely from malaria, and especially the great plain adjoining the Gulf of Tarentum, which in the early ages of history was surrounded by a girdle of Greek cities—some of which attained to almost unexampled prosperity—has for centuries past been given up to almost complete desolation.

It is remarkable that, of the vegetable productions of Italy, many which are at the present day among the first to attract the attention of the visitor are of comparatively late introduction, and were unknown in ancient times. The olive indeed in all ages clothed the hills of a large part of the country; but the orange and lemon, are a late importation from the East, while the cactus or Indian fig and the aloe, both of them so conspicuous on the shores of southern Italy, as well as of the Riviera of Genoa, are of Mexican origin, and consequently could not have been introduced earlier than the 16th century. The same remark applies to the maize or Indian corn. Many botanists are even of opinion that the sweet chestnut, which now constitutes so large a part of the forests that clothe the sides both of the Alps and the Apennines, and in some districts supplies the chief food of the inhabitants, is not originally of Italian growth; it is certain that it had not attained in ancient times to anything like the extension and importance which it now possesses. The

eucalyptus is of quite modern introduction; it has been extensively planted in malarious districts. The characteristic cypress, ilex and stone-pine, however, are native trees, the last-named flourishing especially near the coast. The proportion of evergreens is large, and has a marked effect on the landscape in winter.

Fauna.—The chamois, bouquetin and marmot are found only in the Alps, not at all in the Apennines. In the latter the bear was found in Roman times, and there are said to be still a few remaining. Wolves are more numerous, though only in the mountainous districts; the flocks are protected against them by large white sheep-dogs, who have some wolf blood in them. Wild boars are also found in mountainous and forest districts. Foxes are common in the neighbourhood of Rome. The sea mammals include the common dolphin (*Delphinus delphis*). The birds are similar to those of central Europe; in the mountains vultures, eagles, buzzards, kites, falcons and hawks are found. Partridges, woodcock, snipe, &c., are among the game birds; but all kinds of small birds are also shot for food, and their number is thus kept down, while many members of the migratory species are caught by traps in the foothills on the south side of the Alps, especially near the Lake of Como, on their passage. Large numbers of quails are shot in the spring. Among reptiles, the various kinds of lizard are noticeable. There are several varieties of snakes, of which three species (all vipers) are poisonous. Of sea-fish there are many varieties, the tunny, the sardine and the anchovy being commercially the most important. Some of the other edible fish, such as the palombo, are not found in northern waters. Small cuttlefish are in common use as an article of diet. Tortoiseshell, an important article of commerce, is derived from the *Thalassochelys caretta*, a sea turtle. Of freshwater fish the trout of the mountain streams and the eels of the coast lagoons may be mentioned. The tarantula spider and the scorpion are found in the south of Italy. The aquarium of the zoological station at Naples contains the finest collection in the world of marine animals, showing the wonderful variety of the different species of fish, molluscs, crustacea, &c., found in the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER XV

DIVISIONS AND POPULATION

Population.—The following table indicates the areas of the several provinces (sixty-nine in number), and the population of each according to the censuses of the 31st of December 1881 and the 9th of February 1901. (The larger divisions or compartments in which the provinces are grouped are not officially recognized.)

Provinces and Compartments.	Area in sq. m.	Population.	
		1881.	1901.
Alessandria	1950	729,710	825,745
Cuneo	2882	635,400	670,504
Novara	2553	675,926	763,830
Turin	3955	1,029,214	1,147,414
Piedmont	11,340	3,070,250	3,407,493
Genoa	1582	760,122	931,156
Porto Maurizio	455	132,251	144,604
Liguria	2037	892,373	1,075,760
Bergamo	1098	390,775	467,549
Brescia	1845	471,568	541,765
Como	1091	515,050	594,304
Cremona	695	302,097	329,471
Mantua	912	295,728	315,448
Milan	1223	1,114,991	1,450,214
Pavia	1290	469,831	504,382
Sondrio	1232	120,534	130,966
Lombardy	9386	3,680,574	4,334,099
Belluno	1293	174,140	214,803
Padua	823	397,762	444,360
Rovigo	685	217,700	222,057
Treviso	960	375,704	416,945
Udine	2541	501,745	614,720
Venice	934	356,708	399,823
Verona	1188	394,065	427,018
Vicenza	1052	396,349	453,621
Venetia	9476	2,814,173	3,193,347
Bologna	1448	464,879	529,619
Ferrara	1012	230,807	270,558
Forlì	725	251,110	283,996
Modena	987	279,254	323,598
Parma	1250	267,306	303,694
Piacenza	954	226,758	250,491
Ravenna	715	218,359	234,656
Reggio (Emilia)	876	244,959	281,085
Emilia	7967	2,183,432	2,477,697
Arezzo	1273	238,744	275,588
Florence	2265	790,776	945,324
Grosseto	1738	114,295	137,795
Leghorn	133	121,612	121,137
Lucca	558	284,484	329,986
Massa and Carrara	687	169,469	202,749
Pisa	1179	283,563	319,854
Siena	1471	205,926	233,874
Tuscany	9304	2,208,869	2,566,307

Provinces and Compartments.	Area in sq. m.	Population.	
		1881.	1901.
Ancona	762	267,338	308,346
Ascoli Piceno	796	209,185	251,829
Macerata	1087	239,713	269,505
Pesaro and Urbino	1118	223,043	259,083
Marches	3763	939,279	1,088,763
Perugia—Umbria	3748	572,060	675,352
Rome—Lazio	4663	903,472	1,142,526
Aquila degli Abruzzi (Abruzzo Ulteriore II.)	2484	353,027	436,367
Campobasso (Molise)	1691	365,434	389,976
Chieti (Abruzzo Citeriore)	1138	343,948	387,604
Teramo (Abruzzo Ulteriore I.)	1067	254,806	312,188
Abruzzi and Molise	6380	1,317,215	1,526,135
Avellino (Principato Ulteriore)	1172	392,619	421,766
Benevento	818	238,425	265,460
Caserta (Terra di Lavoro)	2033	714,131	805,345
Naples	350	1,001,245	1,141,788
Salerno (Principato Citeriore)	1916	550,157	585,132
Campania	6289	2,896,577	3,219,491
Bari delle Puglie (Terra di Bari)	2065	679,499	837,683
Foggia (Capitanata)	2688	356,267	421,115
Lecce (Terra di Otranto)	2623	553,298	705,382
Apulia	7376	1,589,064	1,964,180
Potenza (Basilicata)	3845	524,504	491,558
Catazaro (Calabria Ulteriore II.)	2030	433,975	498,791
Cosenza (Calabria Citeriore)	2568	451,185	503,329
Reggio di Calabria (Calabria Ulteriore I.)	1221	372,723	437,209
Calabria	5819	1,257,883	1,439,329
Caltanissetta	1263	266,379	329,449
Catania	1917	563,457	703,598
Girgenti	1172	312,487	380,666
Messina	1246	460,924	550,895
Palermo	1948	699,151	796,151
Syracuse	1442	341,526	433,796
Trapani	948	283,977	373,569
Sicily	9936	2,927,901	3,568,124
Cagliari	5204	420,635	486,767
Sassari	4090	261,367	309,026
Sardinia	9294	682,002	795,793
Kingdom of Italy	110,623	28,459,628	32,965,504 ¹

The number of foreigners in Italy in 1901 was 61,006, of whom 37,762 were domiciled within the kingdom.

The population given in the foregoing table is the resident or "legal" population, which is also given for the individual towns. This is 490,251 higher than the actual population, 32,475,253, ascertained by the census of the 10th of February 1901; the difference is due

¹ In 1911 it had risen to 34,686,683.

to temporary absences from their residences of certain individuals on military service, &c., who probably were counted twice, and also to the fact that 469,020 individuals were returned as absent from Italy, while only 61,606 foreigners were in Italy at the date of the census. The kingdom is divided into 69 provinces, 284 regions, of which 197 are classed as *circondarii* and 87 as districts (the latter belonging to the province of Mantua and the 8 provinces of Venetia), 1806 administrative divisions (*mandamenti*) and 8262 communes. These were the figures at the date of the census. In 1906 there were 1805 *mandamenti* and 8290 communes, and 4 boroughs in Sardinia not connected with communes. The *mandamenti* or administrative divisions no longer correspond to the judicial divisions (*mandamenti giudiziarii*) which in November 1891 were reduced from 1806 to 1535 by a law which provided that judicial reform should not modify existing administrative and electoral divisions. The principal elective local administrative bodies are the provincial and the communal councils. The franchise is somewhat wider than the parliamentary. Both bodies are elected for six years, one-half being renewed every three years. The provincial council elects a provincial commission and the communal council a municipal council from among its own members; these smaller bodies carry on the business of the larger while they are not sitting. The syndic of each commune is elected by ballot by the communal council from among its own members.

The actual (not the resident or "legal") population of Italy since 1770 is approximately given in the following table (the first census of the kingdom as a whole was taken in 1871) :—

1770	14,689,317	1861	25,016,801
1800	17,237,421	1871	26,801,154
1825	19,726,977	1881	28,459,628
1848	23,617,153	1901	32,475,253

The average density increased from 257.21 per sq. m. in 1881 to 293.28 in 1901. In Venetia, Emilia, the Marches, Umbria and Tuscany the proportion of concentrated population is only from 40 to 55 %; in Piedmont, Liguria and Lombardy the proportion rises to from 70 to 76 %; in southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia it attains a maximum of from 76 to 93 %.¹

The population of towns over 100,000 is given in the following table according to the estimates for 1906. The population of the town itself is distinguished from that of its commune, which often includes a considerable portion of the surrounding country.

	Town.	Commune.
Bologna	105,153	160,423
Catania	135,548	159,210
Florence	201,183	226,559
Genoa	255,294	267,248
Messina	108,514	165,007
Milan	560,613	..
Naples	491,614	585,289
Palermo	264,036	323,747
Rome	403,282	516,580
Turin	277,121	361,720
Venice	146,940	169,563

The population of the different parts of Italy differs in character and dialect; and there is little community of sentiment between them. The modes of life and standards of comfort and morality in north Italy and in Calabria are widely different; the former being far in front of the latter. Much, however, is effected towards unification, by compulsory military service, it being the principle that no man shall serve within the military district to which he belongs. In almost all parts the idea of personal loyalty (*e. g.* between master and servant) retains an almost feudal strength. The inhabitants of the north—the Piedmontese, Lombards and Genoese especially—have suffered less than those of the rest of the peninsula from foreign domination and from the admixture of inferior racial elements, and the cold winter climate prevents the heat of summer from being enervating. They, and also the inhabitants of central Italy, are more industrious than the inhabitants of the southern provinces, who have by no means recovered from centuries of misgovernment and oppression, and are naturally more hot-blooded and excitable, but less stable, capable of organization or trustworthy. The southerners are apathetic except when roused, and socialist

¹ The actual communal populations of towns over 100,000, with the increase or decrease per cent. since 1901, were as follows :—Naples, 723,208 (+ 27.4); Milan, 599,200 (+ 20.8); Rome, 538,634 (+ 15.9); Turin, 427,733 (+ 26.5); Palermo, 341,656 (+ 10.0); Genoa, 272,077 (+ 15.4); Florence, 232,860 (+ 9.0); Catania, 211,699 (+ 40.4); Bologna, 172,639 (+ 13.1); Venice, 160,727 (+ 5.7); Messina, 126,172 (— 15.3); Leghorn, 105,322 (+ 6.9); Bari, 103,522 (+ 32.5). Foggia, 76,534, shows an increase of 42.6 %. The rate of increase in the towns is thus considerably higher than in the country as a whole.

doctrines find their chief adherents in the north. The Sicilians and Sardinians have something of Spanish dignity, but the former are one of the most mixed and the latter probably one of the purest races of the Italian kingdom. Physical characteristics differ widely; but as a whole the Italian is somewhat short of stature, with dark or black hair and eyes, often good looking. Both sexes reach maturity early. Mortality is decreasing but if we may judge from the physical conditions of the recruits the physique of the nation shows little or no improvement. Much of this lack of progress is attributed to the heavy manual (especially agricultural) work undertaken by women and children. The women especially age rapidly, largely owing to this cause (E. Nathan, *Vent' anni di vita italiana attraverso all' annuario*, 169 sqq.).

Births, Marriages, Deaths.—Birth and marriage rates vary considerably, being highest in the centre and south (Umbria, the Marches, Apulia, Abruzzi and Molise, and Calabria) and lowest in the north (Piedmont, Liguria and Venetia), and in Sardinia. The death-rate is highest in Apulia, in the Abruzzi and Molise, and in Sardinia, and lowest in the north, especially in Venetia and Piedmont.

Taking the statistics for the whole kingdom, the annual marriage-rate for the years 1876-1880 was 7·53 per 1000; in 1881-1885 it rose to 8·06; in 1886-1890 it was 7·77; in 1891-1895 it was 7·41, and in 1896-1900 it had gone down to 7·14 (a figure largely produced by the abnormally low rate of 6·88 in 1898), and in 1902 was 7·23. Divorce is forbidden by the Roman Catholic Church, and only 839 judicial separations were obtained from the courts in 1902, more than half of the demands made having been abandoned. Of the whole population in 1901, 57·5 % were unmarried, 36·0 % married, and 6·5 % widowers or widows. The illegitimate births show a decrease, having been 6·95 per 100 births in 1872 and 5·72 in 1902, with a rise, however, in the intermediate period as high as 7·76 in 1883. The birth-rate shows a corresponding decrease from 38·10 per 1000 in 1881 to 33·29 in 1902. The male births have since 1872 been about 3 % (3·14 in 1872-1875 and 2·72 in 1896-1900) in excess of the female births, which is rather more than compensated for by the greater male mortality, the excess being 2·64 in 1872-1875 and having increased to 4·08 in 1896-1900. (The calculations are made in both cases on the total of births and deaths of both sexes.) The result is that, while in 1871 there was an excess of 143,370 males over females in the total population, in 1881 the excess was only 71,138, and in 1901 there were 169,684 more females than males. The death-rate (excluding still-born children) was, in 1872, 30·78 per 1000, and has since steadily decreased—less rapidly between 1886-1890 than during other years; in 1902 it was only 22·15 and in 1899 was as low as 21·89. The excess of births over deaths shows considerable variations—owing to a very low birth-rate, it was only 3·12 per 1000 in 1880, but has averaged 11·05 per 1000 from 1896 to 1900, reaching 11·98 in 1899 and 11·14 in 1902. For the four years 1899-1902 24·66 % died under the age of one year, 9·41 between one and two years. The average expectation of life at birth for the same period was 52 years and 11 months, 62 years and 2 months at the age of three years, 52 years at the age of fifteen, 44 years at the age of twenty-four, 30 years at the age of forty; while the average period of life, which was 35 years 3 months per individual in 1882, was 43 years per individual in 1901. This shows a considerable improvement, largely, but not entirely, in the diminution of infant mortality; the expectation of life at birth in 1882, it is true, was only 33 years and 6 months, and at three years of age 56 years 1 month; but the increase, both in the expectation of life and in its average duration, goes all through the different ages.

Occupations.—In the census of 1901 the population over nine years of age (both male and female) was divided as follows as regards the main professions:—

	Total.	Males.	Females.
Agricultural (including hunting and fishing)	9,666,467	6,466,165	3,200,302
Industrial	4,505,736	3,017,393	1,488,343
Commerce and transport (public and private services)	1,003,888	885,070	118,818
Domestic service, &c.	574,855	171,875	402,980
Professional classes, administration, &c.	1,304,347	855,217	449,130
Defence	204,012	204,012	..
Religion	129,893	89,329	40,564

Emigration.—The movement of emigration may be divided into two currents, temporary and permanent—the former going chiefly towards neighbouring European countries and to North Africa, and consisting of manual labourers, the latter towards trans-oceanic countries, principally Brazil, Argentina and the United States. These emigrants remain abroad for several years, even when they do not definitively establish themselves there. They are composed principally of peasants, unskilled workmen and other manual labourers. There was a tendency towards increased emigration during the last quarter of the 19th

century. The principal causes are the growth of population, and the over-supply of and low rates of remuneration for manual labour in various Italian provinces. Emigration has, however, recently assumed such proportions as to lead to scarcity of labour and rise of wages in Italy itself. Italians form about half of the total emigrants to America.

Year.	Temporary Emigration.		Permanent Emigration.	
	Total No. of Emigrants.	Per every 100,000 of Population.	Total No. of Emigrants.	Per every 100,000 of Population.
1881	94,225	333	41,607	147
1891	118,111	389	175,520	578
1901	281,668	865	251,577	772

The increased figures may, to a minor extent, be due to better registration, in consequence of the law of 1901.

From the next table will be seen the direction of emigration in the years specified :—

	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.
Europe	181,047	244,298	236,066	215,943	209,942	266,982
N. Africa	5,417	9,499	11,771	9,452	14,709	11,910
U S. and Canada .	89 400	124,636	196,723	200,383	173,537	322,627
Mexico (Central America)	2,069	997	766	1,311	1,828	2,044
South America . .	74,168	152,543	85,097	78,699	74,209	111,943
Asia and Oceania .	691	1,272	1,086	2,168	2,966	2,715
Total	352,792	533,245	531,509	507,956	477,191	718,221 ¹

¹ In 1910 the number was 651,475.

The figures for 1905 show that the total of 718,221 emigrants was made up, as regards numbers, mainly by individuals from Venetia, Sicily, Campania, Piedmont, Calabria and the Abruzzi; while the percentage was highest in Calabria (4·44), the Abruzzi, Venetia, Basilicata, the Marches, Sicily (2·86), Campania, Piedmont (2·02). Tuscany gives 1·20, Latium 1·14 %, Apulia only 1·02, while Sardinia with 0·34 % occupies an exceptional position. The figure for Sicily, which was 106,000 in 1905, reached 127,000 in 1906 (3·5 %), and of these about three-fourths would be adults; in the meantime, however, the population increases so fast that even in 1905 there was a net increase in Sicily of 20,000 souls; so that in three years 220,000 workers were replaced by 320,000 infants.

The phenomenon of emigration in Sicily cannot altogether be explained by low wages, which have risen, though prices have done the same. It has been defined as apparently "a kind of collective madness."

CHAPTER XVI

AGRICULTURE, MINES AND FISHERIES

ACCURATE statistics with regard to the area occupied in different forms of cultivation are difficult to obtain, both on account of their varied and piecemeal character and from the lack of a complete cadastral survey. A complete survey was ordered by the law of the 1st of March 1886, but many years must elapse before its completion. The law, however, enabled provinces most heavily burdened by land tax to accelerate their portion of the survey, and to profit by the reassessment of the tax on the new basis. An idea of the effects of the survey may be gathered from the fact that the assessments in the four provinces of Mantua, Ancona, Cremona and Milan, which formerly amounted to a total of £1,454,696, are now £2,788,080, an increase of 91 %. Of the total area of Italy, 70,793,000 acres, 71 % are classed as "productive." The unproductive area comprises 16 % of the total area (this includes 4 % occupied by lagoons or marshes, and 1.75 % of the total area susceptible of *bonificazione* or improvement by drainage. Between 1882 and 1902 over £4,000,000 was spent on this by the government). The uncultivated area is 13 %. This includes 3.50 % of the total susceptible of cultivation.

The cultivated area may be divided into five agrarian regions or zones, named after the variety of tree culture which flourishes in them. (1) Proceeding from south to north, the first zone is that of the *agrumi* (oranges, lemons and similar fruits). It comprises a great part of Sicily. In Sardinia it extends along the southern and western coasts. It predominates along the Ligurian Riviera from Bordighera to Spezia, and on the Adriatic, near San Benedetto del Tronto and Gargano, and, crossing the Italian shore of the Ionian Sea, prevails in some regions of Calabria, and terminates around the gulfs of Salerno, Sorrento and Naples. (2) The region of *olives* comprises the internal Sicilian valleys and part of the mountain slopes; in Sardinia, the valleys near the coast on the S.E., S.W. and N.W.; on the mainland it extends from Liguria and from the southern extremities of the Romagna to Cape Santa Maria di Leuca in Apulia, and to Cape Spartivento in Calabria. Some districts of the olive region are near the lakes of upper Italy and in Venetia, and the territories of Verona, Vicenza, Treviso and Friuli. (3) The *vine* region begins on the sunny slopes of the Alpine spurs and in those Alpine valleys open towards the south, extending over the plains of Lombardy and Emilia. In Sardinia it covers the mountain slopes to a considerable height, and in Sicily covers the sides of the Madonie range, reaching a level above 3000 ft. on the southern slope of Etna. The Calabrian Alps, the less rocky sides of the Apulian Murgie and the whole length of the Apennines are covered at different heights, according to their situation. The hills of Tuscany, and of Monferrato in Piedmont, produce the most celebrated Italian vintages. (4) The region of *chestnuts* extends from the valleys to the high plateaus of the Alps, along the northern slopes of the Apennines in Liguria, Modena, Tuscany, Romagna, Umbria, the Marches and along the southern Apennines to the Calabrian and Sicilian ranges, as well as to the mountains of Sardinia. (5) The *wooded* region covers the Alps and Apennines above the chestnut level. The woods consist chiefly of pine and hazel upon the Apennines, and upon the Calabrian, Sicilian and Sardinian mountains of oak, ilex, hornbeam and similar trees.

Between these regions of tree culture lie zones of different herbaceous culture, cereals, vegetables and textile plants. The style of cultivation varies according to the nature of the ground, terraces supported by stone walls being much used in mountainous districts. Cereal cultivation occupies the foremost place in area and quantity though

it has been on the decline since 1903, still representing, however, an advance on previous years. Wheat is the most important crop and is widely distributed. In 1905 12,734,491 acres, or about 18 % of the total area, produced 151,696,571 bushels of wheat, a yield of only 12 bushels per acre. The importation has, however, enormously increased since 1882—from 164,600 to 1,126,368 tons; while the extent of land devoted to corn cultivation has slightly decreased. Next in importance to wheat comes maize, occupying about 7 % of the total area of the country, and cultivated almost everywhere as an alternative crop. The production of maize in 1905 reached about 96,250,000 bushels, a slight increase on the average. The production of maize is, however, insufficient, and 208,719 tons were imported in 1902—about double the amount imported in 1882.

Rice is cultivated in low-lying, moist lands, where spring and summer temperatures are high. The Po valley and the valleys of Emilia and the Romagna are best adapted for rice, but the area is diminishing on account of the competition of foreign rice and of the impoverishment of the soil by too intense cultivation. The area is about 0.5 % of the total of Italy. The area under rye is about 0.5 % of the total, of which about two-thirds lie in the Alpine and about one-third in the Apennine zone. The barley zone is geographically extensive but embraces not more than 1 % of the total area, of which half is situated in Sardinia and Sicily. Oats, cultivated in the Roman and Tuscan maremma and in Apulia, are used almost exclusively for horses and cattle. The area of oats cultivation is 1.5 % of the total area. The other cereals, millet and *panico sorgo* (*Panicum italicum*), have lost much of their importance in consequence of the introduction of maize and rice. Millet, however, is still cultivated in the north of Italy, and is used, as bread for agricultural labourers, and as forage when mixed with buckwheat (*Sorghum saccharatum*). The manufacture of macaroni and similar foodstuff is a characteristic Italian industry. It is extensively distributed, but especially flourishes in the Neapolitan provinces. The exportation of "cornflour pastes" sank, however, from 7100 tons to 350 between 1882 and 1902.

The cultivation of green forage is extensive and is divided into the categories of temporary and perennial. The temporary includes vetches, pulse, lupine, clover and trifolium; and the perennial, meadow-trefoil, lupinella, sulla (*Hedysarum coronarium*), lucerne and darnel. The natural grass meadows are extensive, and hay is grown all over the country, but especially in the Po valley. Pasture occupies about 30 % of the total area of the country, of which Alpine pastures occupy 1.25 %. Seed-bearing vegetables are comparatively scarce. The principal are: white beans, largely consumed by the working classes; lentils, much less cultivated than beans; and green peas, largely consumed in Italy, and exported as a spring vegetable. Chick-pease are extensively cultivated in the southern provinces. Horse beans are grown, especially in the south and in the larger islands; lupines are also grown for fodder.

Among tuberous vegetables the potato comes first. The area occupied is about 0.7 % of the whole of the country. Turnips are grown principally in the central provinces as an alternative crop to wheat. They yield as much as 12 tons per acre. Beetroot (*Beta vulgaris*) is used as fodder, and yields about 10 tons per acre. Sugar beet is extensively grown to supply the sugar factories. In 1898-1899 there were only four sugar factories, with an output of 5972 tons; in 1905 there were thirty-three, with an output of 93,916 tons.

Market gardening is carried on both near towns and villages, where products find ready sale, and along the great railways, on account of transport facilities. Rome is an exception to the former rule and imports garden produce largely from the neighbourhood of Naples and from Sardinia.

Among the chief industrial plants is tobacco, which grows wherever suitable soil exists. Since tobacco is a government monopoly, its cultivation is subject to official concessions and prescriptions. Experiments hitherto made show that the cultivation of Oriental tobacco may profitably be extended in Italy. The yield for 1901 was 5528 tons, but a large increase took place subsequently, eleven million new plants having been added in southern Italy in 1905.

The chief textile plants are hemp, flax and cotton. Hemp is largely cultivated in the provinces of Turin, Ferrara, Bologna, Forlì, Ascoli Piceno and Caserta. Bologna hemp is specially valued. Flax covers about 160,000 acres, with a product, in fibre, amounting to about 20,000 tons. Cotton (*Gossypium herbaceum*), which at the beginning of the 19th century, at the time of the Continental blockade, and again during the American War of Secession, was largely cultivated, is now grown only in parts of Sicily and in a few southern provinces. Sumach, liquorice and madder are also grown in the south.

The vine is cultivated throughout the length and breadth of Italy, but while in some of the districts of the south and centre it occupies from 10 to 20 % of the cultivated area, in some of the northern provinces, such as Sondrio, Belluno, Grosseto, &c., the average is only about 1 or 2 %. The methods of cultivation are varied; but the planting of the vines by themselves in long rows of insignificant bushes is the exception. In Lombardy, Emilia, Romagna, Tuscany, the Marches, Umbria and the southern provinces, they are trained to trees which are either left in their natural state or subjected to pruning and pollarding. In Campania the vines are allowed to climb freely to the tops of the poplars. In the rest

of Italy the elm and the maple are the trees mainly employed as supports. Artificial props of several kinds—wires, cane work, trellis work, &c.—are also in use in many districts (in the neighbourhood of Rome canes are almost exclusively employed), and in some the plant is permitted to trail along the ground. The vintage takes place, according to locality and climate, from the beginning of September to the beginning of November. The vine has been attacked by the *Oidium Tuckeri*, the *Phylloxera vastatrix* and the *Peyonospora viticola*, which in rapid succession wrought great havoc in Italian vineyards. American vines, are, however, immune and have been largely adopted. The production of wine in the vintage of 1907, which was extraordinarily abundant all over the country, was estimated at 1232 million gallons (56 million hectolitres), the average for 1901–1903 being some 352 million gallons less; of this the probable home consumption was estimated at rather over half, while a considerable amount remained over from 1906. The exportation in 1902 only reached about 45 million gallons (and even that is double the average), while an equally abundant vintage in France and Spain rendered the exportation of the balance of 1907 impossible, and fiscal regulations rendered the distillation of the superfluous amount difficult. The quality, too, owing to bad weather at the time of vintage, was not good; Italian wine, indeed, never is sufficiently good to compete with the best wines of other countries, especially France (though there is more opening for Italian wines of the Bordeaux and Burgundy type); nor will many kinds of it stand keeping, partly owing to their natural qualities and partly to the insufficient care devoted to their preparation. There has been some improvement, however, while some of the heavier white wines, noticeably the Marsala of Sicily, have excellent keeping qualities. The area cultivated as vineyards has increased enormously, from about 4,940,000 acres to 9,880,000 acres, or about 14 % of the total area of the country. Over-production seems thus to be a considerable danger, and improvement of quality is rather to be sought after. This has been encouraged by government prizes since 1904.

Next to cereals and the vine the most important object of cultivation is the olive. In Sicily and the provinces of Reggio, Catanzaro, Cosenza and Lecce this tree flourishes without shelter; as far north as Rome, Aquila and Teramo it requires only the slightest protection; in the rest of the peninsula it runs the risk of damage by frost every ten years or so. The proportion of ground under olives is from 20 to 36 % at Porto Maurizio, and in Reggio, Lecce, Bari, Chieti and Leghorn it averages from 10 to 19 %. Throughout Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia and the greater part of Emilia, the tree is of little importance. In the olive there is great variety of kinds, and the methods of cultivation differ greatly in different districts; in Bari, Chieti and Lecce, for instance, there are regular woods of nothing but olive-trees, while in middle Italy there are olive-orchards with the interspaces occupied by crops of various kinds. The Tuscan oils from Lucca, Calci and Buti are considered the best in the world; those of Bari, Umbria and western Liguria rank next. The wood of the olive is also used for the manufacture of small articles. The olive-growing area occupies about 3·5 % of the total area of the country, and the crop in 1905 produced about 75,000,000 gallons of oil. The falling off of the crop, especially in 1899, was due to bad seasons and to insects, notably the *Cycloconium oleoginum*, and the *Dacus oleae*, or oil-fly, which have ravaged the olive-yards, and it is noticeable that lately good and bad seasons seem to alternate; between 1900 and 1905 the crops were alternately one half of, and equal to, that of the latter year. With the development of agricultural knowledge, notable improvements have been effected in the manufacture of oil. The steam mills give the best results. The export trade, however, is decreasing considerably, while the home consumption is increasing. In 1901, 1985 imperial tuns of oil were shipped from Gallipoli for abroad—two-thirds to the United Kingdom, one-third to Russia—and 666 to Italian ports; while in 1904 the figures were reversed, 1633 tuns going to Italian ports, and only 945 tuns to foreign ports. The other principal port of shipping is Gioia Tauro, 30 m. N.N.E. of Reggio Calabria. A certain amount of linseed-oil is made in Lombardy, Sicily, Apulia and Calabria; colza in Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia and Emilia; and castor-oil in Venetia and Sicily. The product is principally used for industrial purposes, and partly in the preparation of food, but the amount is decreasing.

The cultivation of oranges, lemons and their congeners (collectively designated in Italian by the term *agrumi*) is of comparatively modern date, the introduction of the *Citrus Bigaradia* being probably due to the Arabs. Sicily is the chief centre of cultivation—the area occupied by lemon and orange orchards in the province of Palermo alone having increased from 11,525 acres in 1854 to 54,340 in 1874. Reggio, Calabria, Catanzaro, Cosenza, Lecce, Salerno, Naples and Caserta are the continental provinces which come next after Sicily. In Sardinia the cultivation is extensive, but receives little attention. Both crude and concentrated lime-juice is exported, and essential oils are extracted from the rind of the *agrumi*, more particularly from that of the lemon and the bergamot. In northern and central Italy, except in the province of Brescia, the *agrumi* are almost non-existent. The trees are planted on irrigated soil and the fruit gathered between November and August. Considerable trade is done in *agro di limone* or lemon extract, which forms the basis of citric acid. Extraction is extensively carried on in the provinces of Messina and Palermo.

Among other fruit trees, apple-trees have special importance. Almonds are widely

cultivated in Sicily, Sardinia and the southern provinces; walnut trees throughout the peninsula, their wood being more important than their fruit; hazel nuts, figs, prickly pears (used in the south and the islands for hedges, their fruit being a minor consideration), peaches, pears, locust beans and pistachio nuts are among the other fruits. The mulberry-tree (*Morus alba*), whose leaves serve as food for silkworms, is cultivated in every region, considerable progress having been made in its cultivation and in the rearing of silkworms since 1850. Silkworm-rearing establishments of importance now exist in the Marches, Umbria, in the Abruzzi, Tuscany, Piedmont and Venetia. The chief silk-producing provinces are Lombardy, Venetia and Piedmont. During the period 1900-1904 the average annual production of silk cocoons was 53,500 tons, and of silk 5200 tons.

The great variety in physical and social conditions throughout the peninsula gives corresponding variety to the methods of agriculture. In the rotation of crops there is an amazing diversity—shifts of two years, three years, four years, six years, and in many cases whatever order strikes the fancy of the farmer. The fields of Tuscany for the most part bear wheat one year and maize the next, in perpetual interchanges, relieved to some extent by green crops. A similar method prevails in the Abruzzi, and in the provinces of Salerno, Benevento and Avellino. In Lombardy a six-year shift is common: either wheat, clover, maize, rice, rice, rice (the last year manured with lupines) or maize, wheat followed by clover, clover, clover ploughed in, and rice, rice and rice manured with lupines. The Emilian region is one where regular rotations are best observed—a common shift being grain, maize, clover, beans and vetches, &c., grain, which has the disadvantage of the grain crops succeeding each other. In the province of Naples, Caserta, &c., the method of fallows is widely adopted, the ground often being left in this state for fifteen or twenty years; and in some parts of Sicily there is a regular interchange of fallow and crop year by year. The following scheme indicates a common Sicilian method of a type which has many varieties; fallow, grain, grain, pasture, pasture—other two divisions of the area following the same order, but beginning respectively with the two years of grain and the two of pasture.

Woods and forests play an important part, especially in regard to the consistency of the soil and to the character of the water-courses. The chestnut is of great value for its wood and its fruit, an article of popular consumption. Good timber is furnished by the oak and beech, and pine and fir forests of the Alps and Apennines. Notwithstanding the efforts of the government to unify and co-ordinate the forest laws previously existing in the various states, deforestation has continued in many regions. This has been due to speculation, to the unrestricted pasturage of goats, to the rights which many communes have over the forests, and to some extent to excessive taxation, which led the proprietors to cut and sell the trees and then abandon the ground to the Treasury. The results are—a lack of water-supply and of water-power, the streams becoming mere torrents for a short period and perfectly dry for the rest of the year; lack of a sufficient supply of timber; the denudation of the soil on the hills, and, where the valleys below have insufficient drainage, the formation of swamps. If the available water-power of Italy, already very considerable, be harnessed, converted into electric power (which is already being done in some districts), and further increased by reforestation, the effect upon the industries of Italy will be incalculable, and the importation of coal will be very materially diminished. The area of forest is about 14·3 % of the total, and of the chestnut-woods 1·5 more; and its products in 1886 were valued at £3,520,000 (not including chestnuts). A quantity of it is really brushwood, used for the manufacture of charcoal and for fuel, coal being little used except for manufacturing purposes. Forest nurseries have also been founded.

According to an approximate calculation the number of head of live stock in Italy in 1890 was 16,620,000, thus divided:—horses, 720,000; asses, 1,000,000; mules, 300,000; cattle, 5,000,000; sheep, 6,000,000; goats, 1,800,000; swine, 1,800,000.

The breed of cattle most widely distributed is that known as the Podolian, usually with white or grey coat and enormous horns. Of the numerous sub-varieties, the finest is said to be that of the Val di Chiana, where the animals are stall-fed all the year round; next is ranked the so-called Valle Tiberina type. Wilder varieties roam in vast herds over the Tuscan and Roman *maremmas*, and the corresponding districts in Apulia and other regions. In the Alpine districts there is a stock distinct from the Podolian, generally called *razza montanina*. These animals are much smaller in stature and more regular in form than the Podolians; they are mainly kept for dairy purposes. Another stock, with no close allies nearer than the south of France, is found in the plain of Racconigi and Carmagnola; the mouse-coloured Swiss breed occurs in the neighbourhood of Milan; the Tirolese breed stretches south to Padua and Modena; and a red-coated breed named of Reggio or Friuli is familiar both in what were the duchies of Parma and Modena, and in the provinces of Udine and Treviso. In Sicily the so-called Modica race is of note; and in Sardinia there is a distinct stock which seldom exceeds the weight of 700 lb. Buffaloes are kept in several districts, more particularly of southern Italy.

Enormous flocks are possessed by professional sheep-farmers, who pasture them in the mountains in the summer, and bring them down to the plains in the winter. At Saluzzo in Piedmont there is a stock with hanging ears, arched face and tall stature, kept for its dairy qualities; and in the Biellese the merino breed is maintained by some of the larger

proprietors. In the upper valleys of the Alps there are many local varieties, one of which at Ossola is like the Scottish blackface. Liguria is not much adapted for sheep-farming on a large scale; but a number of small flocks come down to the plain of Tuscany in the winter. With the exception of a few sub-Alpine districts near Bergamo and Brescia, the great Lombard plain is decidedly unpastoral. The Bergamo sheep is the largest breed in the country; that of Cadore and Belluno approaches it in size. In the Venetian districts the farmers often have small stationary flocks. Throughout the Roman province, and Umbria, Apulia, the Abruzzi, Basilicata and Calabria, is found in its full development a remarkable system of pastoral migration with the change of seasons which has been in existence from the most ancient times, and has attracted attention as much by its picturesque as by its industrial importance. Merino sheep have been acclimatized in the Abruzzi, Capitanata and Basilicata. The number of sheep, however, is on the decrease. Similarly, the number of goats, which are reared only in hilly regions, is decreasing especially on account of the existing forest laws, as they are the chief enemies of young plantations. Horse-breeding is on the increase. The state helps to improve the breeds by placing choice stallions at the disposal of private breeders at a low tariff. The exportation is, however, unimportant, while the importation is largely on the increase, 46,463 horses having been imported in 1902. Cattle-breeding varies with the different regions. In upper Italy cattle are principally reared in pens and stalls; in central Italy cattle are allowed to run half wild, the stall system being little practised; in the south and in the islands cattle are kept in the open air, few shelters being provided. The erection of shelters, however, is encouraged by the state. Swine are extensively reared in many provinces. Fowls are kept on all farms and, though methods are still antiquated, trade in fowls and eggs is rapidly increasing.

In 1905 Italy exported 32,786 and imported 17,766 head of cattle; exported 33,574 and imported 6551 sheep; exported 95,995 and imported 1604 swine. The former two show a very large decrease and the latter a large increase on the export figures for 1882. The export of agricultural products shows a large increase.

The north of Italy has long been known for its great dairy districts. Parmesan cheese, otherwise called Lodigiano (from Lodi) or *grana*, was presented to King Louis XII. as early as 1509. Parmesan is not confined to the province from which it derives its name; it is manufactured in all that part of Emilia in the neighbourhood of the Po, and in the provinces of Brescia, Bergamo, Pavia, Novara and Alessandria. Gorgonzola, which takes its name from a town in the province, has become general throughout the whole of Lombardy, in the eastern parts of the "ancient provinces," and in the province of Cuneo. The cheese known as the *cacio-cavallo* is produced in regions extending from 37° to 43° N. lat. Gruyère, extensively manufactured in Switzerland and France, is also produced in Italy in the Alpine regions and in Sicily. With the exception of Parmesan, Gorgonzola, La Fontina and Gruyère, most of the Italian cheese is consumed in the locality of its production. Co-operative dairy farms are numerous in north Italy, and though only about half as many as in 1889 (114 in 1902) are better organized. Modern methods have been introduced.

The drainage of marshes and marshy lands has considerably extended. A law passed on the 22nd of March 1900 gave a special impulse to this form of enterprise by fixing the ratio of expenditure incumbent respectively upon the State, the provinces, the communes, and the owners or other private individuals directly interested.

The Italian Federation of Agrarian Unions has greatly contributed to agricultural progress. Government travelling teachers of agriculture, and fixed schools of viticulture, also do good work. Some unions annually purchase large quantities of merchandise for their members, especially chemical manures. The importation of machinery amounted to over 5000 tons in 1901.

Income from land has diminished on the whole. The chief diminution has taken place in the south in regard to oranges and lemons, cereals and (for some provinces) vines. Since 1895, however, the heavy import corn duty has caused a slight rise in the income from corn lands. The principal reasons for the general decrease are the fall in prices through foreign competition and the closing of certain markets, the diseases of plants and the increased outlay required to combat them, and the growth of State and local taxation. One of the great evils of Italian agricultural taxation is its lack of elasticity and of adaptation to local conditions. Taxes are not sufficiently proportioned to what the land may reasonably be expected to produce, nor sufficient allowance made for the exceptional conditions of a southern climate, in which a few hours' bad weather may destroy a whole crop. The Italian agriculturist has come to look (and often in vain) for action on a large scale from the state, for irrigation, drainage of uncultivated low-lying land, which may be made fertile, river regulation, &c.; while to the small proprietor the state often appears only as a hard and inconsiderate tax-gatherer.

The relations between owners and tillers of the soil are still regulated by the ancient forms of agrarian contract, which have remained almost untouched by social and political changes. The possibility of reforming these contracts in some parts of the kingdom has been studied, in the hope of bringing them into closer harmony with the needs of rational cultivation and the exigencies of social justice.

Peasant proprietorship is most common in Lombardy and Piedmont, but it is also found elsewhere. Large farms are found in certain of the more open districts; but in Italy generally, and especially in Sardinia, the land is very much subdivided. The following forms of contract are most usual in the several regions: In Piedmont the *mezzadria* (*metayage*), the *terziera*, the *colonia parziaria*, the *boaria*, the *schiavenza* and the *affitto*, or lease, are most usual. Under *mezzadria* the contract generally lasts three years. Products are usually divided in equal proportions between the owner and the tiller. The owner pays the taxes, defrays the cost of preparing the ground, and provides the necessary implements. Stock usually belongs to the owner, and, even if kept on the half-and-half system, is usually bought by him. The peasant, or *mezzadro*, provides labour. Under *terziera* the owner furnishes stock, implements and seed, and the tiller retains only one-third of the principal products. In the *colonia parziaria* the peasant executes all the agricultural work, in return for which he is housed rent-free, and receives one-sixth of the corn, one-third of the maize and has a small money wage. This contract is usually renewed from year to year. The *boaria* is widely diffused in its two forms of *cascina fatta* and *paghe*. In the former case a peasant family undertakes all the necessary work in return for payment in money or kind, which varies according to the crop; in the latter the money wages and the payment in kind are fixed beforehand. *Schiavenza*, either simple or with a share in the crops, is a form of contract similar to the *boaria*, but applied principally to large holdings. The wages are lower than under the *boaria*. In the *affitto*, or lease, the proprietor furnishes seed and the implements. Rent varies according to the quality of the soil.

In Lombardy, besides the *mezzadria*, the lease is common, but the *terziera* is rare. The lessee, or farmer, tills the soil at his own risk; usually he provides live stock, implements and capital, and has no right to compensation for ordinary improvements, nor for extraordinary improvements effected without the landlord's consent. He is obliged to give a guarantee for the fulfilment of his engagements. In some places he pays an annual tribute in grapes, corn and other produce. In some of the Lombard *mezzadria* contracts taxes are paid by the cultivator.

In Venetia it is more common than elsewhere in Italy for owners to till their own soil. The prevalent forms of contract are the *mezzadria* and the lease. In Liguria, also, *mezzadria* and lease are the chief forms of contract.

In Emilia both *mezzadria* and lease tenure are widely diffused in the provinces of Ferrara, Reggio and Parma; but other special forms of contract exist, known as the *famiglio da spesa*, *boaria*, *braccianti obbligati* and *braccianti disobbligati*. In the *famiglio da spesa* the tiller receives a small wage and a proportion of certain products. The *boaria* is of two kinds. If the tiller receives as much as 45 lire per month, supplemented by other wages in kind, it is said to be *boaria a salario*; if the principal part of his remuneration is in kind, his contract is called *boaria a spesa*.

In the Marches, Umbria and Tuscany, *mezzadria* prevails in its purest form. Profits and losses, both in regard to produce and stock, are equally divided. In some places, however, the landlord takes two-thirds of the olives and the whole of the grapes and the mulberry leaves. Leasehold exists in the province of Grosseto alone. In Latium leasehold and farming by landlords prevail, but cases of *mezzadria* and of "improvement farms" exist. In the *agro Romano*, or zone immediately around Rome, land is as a rule left for pasturage. It needs, therefore, merely supervision by guardians and mounted overseers or *butleri*, who are housed and receive wages. Large landlords are usually represented by *ministri*, or factors, who direct agricultural operations and manage the estates, but the estate is often let to a middleman, or *mercante di campagna*. Wherever corn is cultivated, leasehold predominates. Much of the work is done by companies of peasants, who come down from the mountainous districts when required, permanent residence not being possible owing to the malaria. Near Velletri and Frosinone "improvement farms" prevail. A piece of uncultivated land is made over to a peasant for from 20 to 29 years. Vines and olives are usually planted, the landlord paying the taxes and receiving one-third of the produce. At the end of the contract the landlord either cultivates his land himself or leases it, repaying to the improver part of the expenditure incurred by him. This repayment sometimes consists of half the estimated value of the standing crops.

In the Abruzzi and in Apulia leasehold is predominant. Usually leases last from three to six years. In the provinces of Foggia and Lecce long leases (up to twenty-nine years) are granted, but in them it is explicitly declared that they do not imply *enfiteusi* (perpetual leasehold), nor any other form of contract equivalent to co-proprietorship. *Mezzadria* is rarely resorted to. On some small holdings, however, it exists with contracts from two to six years. Special contracts, known as *colonie immovibili* and *colonie temporanee* are applied to the *latifondi* or huge estates, the owners of which receive half the produce, except that of the vines, olive-trees and woods, which he leases separately. "Improvement contracts" also exist. They consist of long leases, under which the landlord shares the costs of improvements and builds farm-houses; also leases of orange and lemon gardens, two-thirds of the produce of which go to the landlord, while the farmer contributes half the cost of farming besides the labour. Leasehold, varying from four to six years for arable land and from six to eighteen years for forest-land, prevails also in Campania, Basilicata and

Calabria. The *estaglio*, or rent, is often paid in kind, and is equivalent to half the produce of good land and one-third of the produce of bad land. "Improvement contracts" are granted for uncultivated bush districts, where one fourth of the produce goes to the landlord, and for plantations of fig-trees, olive-trees and vines, half of the produce of which belongs to the landlord, who at the end of ten years reimburses the tenant for a part of the improvements effected. Other forms of contract are the *piccola mezzadria*, or sub-letting by tenants to under-tenants, on the half-and-half system; *enfiteusi*, or perpetual leases at low rents—a form which has almost died out; and *mezzadria* (in the provinces of Caserta and Benevento).

In Sicily leasehold prevails under special conditions. In pure leasehold the landlord demands at least six months' rent as guarantee, and the forfeiture of any fortuitous advantages. Under the *gabella* lease the contract lasts twenty-nine years, the lessee being obliged to make improvements, but being sometimes exempted from rent during the first years. *Inquilinaggio* is a form of lease by which the landlord, and sometimes the tenant, makes over to tenant or sub-tenant the sowing of corn. There are various categories of *inquilinaggio*, according as rent is paid in money or in kind. Under *mezzadria* or *metateria* the landlord divides the produce with the farmer in various proportions. The farmer provides all labour. *Latifondi* farms are very numerous in Sicily. The landlord lets his land to two or more persons jointly, who undertake to restore it to him in good condition with one-third of it "*interrozzito*," that is, fallow, so as to be cultivated the following year according to triennial rotation. These lessees are usually speculators, who divide and sub-let the estate. The sub-tenants in their turn let a part of their land to peasants in *mezzadria*, thus creating a system disastrous both for agriculture and the peasants. At harvest-time the produce is placed in the barns of the lessor, who first deducts 25 % as premium, then 16 % for *battitura* (the difference between corn before and after winnowing), then deducts a proportion for rent and subsidies, so that the portion retained by the actual tiller of the soil is extremely meagre. In bad years the tiller, moreover, gives up seed corn before beginning harvest.

In Sardinia landlord-farming and leasehold prevail. In the few cases of *mezzadria* the Tuscan system is followed.

Mines.—The number of mines increased from 589 in 1881 to 1580 in 1902. The output in 1881 was worth about £2,800,000, but by 1895 had decreased to £1,800,000, chiefly on account of the fall in the price of sulphur. It afterwards rose, and was worth more than £3,640,000 in 1899, falling again to £3,118,600 in 1902 owing to severe American competition in sulphur. The chief minerals are sulphur, in the production of which Italy holds one of the first places, iron, zinc, lead; these, and, to a smaller extent, copper of an inferior quality, manganese and antimony, are successfully mined. The bulk of the sulphur mines are in Sicily, while the majority of the lead and zinc mines are in Sardinia; much of the lead smelting is done at Pertusola, near Genoa, the company formed for this purpose having acquired many of the Sardinian mines. Iron is mainly mined in Elba. Quicksilver and tin are found (the latter in small quantities) in Tuscany. Boracic acid is chiefly found near Volterra, where there is also a little rock salt, but the main supply is obtained by evaporation. The output of stone from quarries is greatly diminished (from 12,500,000 tons, worth £1,920,000, in 1890, to 8,000,000 tons, worth £1,400,000 in 1899), a circumstance probably attributable to the slackening of building enterprise in many cities, and to the decrease in the demand for stone for railway, maritime and river embankment works. The value of the output had, however, by 1902 risen to £1,600,000, representing a tonnage of about 10,000,000. There is good travertine below Tivoli and elsewhere in Italy; the finest granite is found at Baveno. Lava is much used for paving-stones in the neighbourhood of volcanic districts, where pozzolana (for cement) and pumice stone are also important. Much of Italy contains Pliocene clay, which is good for pottery and brickmaking. Mineral springs are very numerous, and of great variety.

Fisheries.—The number of boats and smacks engaged in the fisheries has considerably increased. In 1881 the total number was 15,914, with a tonnage of 49,103. In 1902 there were 23,098 boats,¹ manned by 101,720 men, and the total catch was valued at just over half a million sterling—according to the government figures, which are certainly below the truth. The value has, however, undoubtedly diminished, though the number of boats and crews increases. Most of the fishing boats, properly so called, start from the Adriatic coast, the coral boats from the western Mediterranean coast, and the sponge boats from the western Mediterranean and Sicilian coasts. Fishing and trawling are carried on chiefly off the Italian (especially Ligurian), Austrian and Tunisian coasts; coral is found principally near Sardinia and Sicily, and sponges almost exclusively off Sicily and Tunisia in the neighbourhood of Sfax. For sponge fishing no accurate statistics are available before 1896; in that year 75 tons of sponges were secured, but there has been considerable diminution since, only 31 tons being obtained in 1902. A considerable proportion was obtained by foreign boats. The island of Lampedusa may be considered its centre. Coral fishing, which fell off between 1889 and 1892 on account of the temporary closing of the Sciacca coral reefs has greatly decreased since 1884, when the fisheries produced 643 tons, whereas

¹ In 1909 there were 26,676 boats.

in 1902 they only produced 225 tons. The value of the product has, however, proportionately increased, so that the sum realized was little less, while less than half the number of men was employed. Sardinian coral commands from £3 to £4 per kilogramme (2·204 lb), and is much more valuable than the Sicilian coral. The Sciacca reefs were again closed for three winters by a decree of 1904. The fishing is largely carried on by boats from Torre del Greco, in the Gulf of Naples, where the best coral beds are now exhausted. In 1879 4000 men were employed; in 1902 only just over 1000. In 1902 there were 48 tunny fisheries, employing 3006 men, and 5116 tons of fish worth £80,000 were caught. The main fisheries are in Sardinia, Sicily and Elba. Anchovy and sardine fishing (the products of which are reckoned among the general total) are also of considerable importance, especially along the Ligurian and Tuscan coasts. The lagoon fisheries are also of great importance, more especially those of Comacchio, the lagoon of Orbetello and the Mare Piccolo at Taranto, &c. The deep-sea fishing boats in 1902 numbered 1368, with a total tonnage of 16,149; 100 of these were coral-fishing boats and 111 sponge-fishing boats.

CHAPTER XVII

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

THE industrial progress of Italy has been great since 1880. Many articles formerly imported are now made at home, and some Italian manufactures have begun to compete in foreign markets. Italy has only unimportant lignite and anthracite mines, but water power is abundant and has been largely applied to industry, especially in generating electricity. The electric power required for the tramways and the illumination of Rome is entirely supplied by turbines situated at Tivoli, and this is the case elsewhere, and the harnessing of this water-power is capable of very considerable extension. A sign of industrial development is to be found in the growing number of manufacturing companies, both Italian and foreign.

The chief development has taken place in mechanical industries, though it has also been marked in metallurgy. Sulphur mining supplies large industries of sulphur-refining and grinding, in spite of American competition. Very little pig iron is made, most of the iron ore being exported, and iron manufactured consists of old iron re-smelted. For steel-making foreign pig iron is chiefly used. The manufacture of steel rails, carried on first at Terni and afterwards at Savona, began in Italy in 1886. Tin has been manufactured since 1892. Lead, antimony, mercury and copper are also produced. The total salt production in 1902 was 458,497 tons, of which 248,215 were produced in the government salt factories and the rest in the free salt-works of Sicily. Great progress has been made in the manufacture of machinery; locomotives, railway carriages, electric tram-cars, &c., and machinery of all kinds, are now largely made in Italy itself, especially in the north and in the neighbourhood of Naples. At Turin the manufacture of motor-cars has attained great importance and the F.I.A.T. (Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino) factory employs 2000 workmen, while eight others employ 2780 amongst them.

The textile industries, some of which are of ancient date, are among those that have most rapidly developed. Handloomers and small spinning establishments have, in the silk industry, given place to large establishments with steam looms. The production of raw silk at least tripled itself between 1875 and 1900, and the value of the silks woven in Italy, estimated in 1890 to be £2,200,000, is now, on account of the development of the export trade, calculated to be almost £4,000,000. Lombardy (especially Como, Milan and Bergamo), Piedmont and Venetia are the chief silk-producing regions. There are several public assay offices in Italy for silk; the first in the world was established in Turin in 1750. The cotton industry has also rapidly developed. Home products not only supply the Italian market in increasing degree, but find their way into foreign markets. While importation of raw cotton increases importations of cotton thread and of cotton stuffs have rapidly decreased. The value of the annual produce of the various branches of the cotton industry, which in 1885 was calculated to be £7,200,000, was in 1900, notwithstanding the fall in prices, about £12,000,000. The industry is chiefly developed in Lombardy, Piedmont and Liguria; to some extent also in Campania, Venetia and Tuscany, and to a less extent in Lazio (Rome), Apulia, Emilia, the Marches, Umbria, the Abruzzi and Sicily. A government weaving school was established in Naples in 1906. As in the case of cotton, Italian woollen fabrics are conquering the home market in increasing degree. The industry centres chiefly in Piedmont (province of Novara), Venetia (province of Vicenza), Tuscany (Florence), Lombardy (Brescia), Campania (Caserta), Genoa, Umbria, the Marches and Rome. To some extent the industry also exists in Emilia,

Calabria, Basilicata, the Abruzzi, Sardinia and Sicily. It has, however, a comparatively small export trade.

The other textile industries (flax, jute, &c.) have made notable progress. The jute industry is concentrated in a few large factories, which from 1887 onwards have more than supplied the home market, and have begun considerably to export.

Chemical industries show an output worth £2,640,000 in 1902 as against £1,040,000 in 1893. The chief products are sulphuric acid; sulphate of copper, employed chiefly as a preventive of certain maladies of the vine; carbonate of lead, hyperphosphates and chemical manures; calcium carbide; explosive powder; dynamite and other explosives. Pharmaceutical industries, as distinguished from those above mentioned, have kept pace with the general development of Italian activity. The principal product is quinine, the manufacture of which has acquired great importance, owing to its use as a specific against malaria. Milan and Genoa are the principal centres, and also the government military pharmaceutical factory at Turin. Other industries of a semi-chemical character are candle-, soap-, glue- and perfume-making, and the preparation of india-rubber. The last named has succeeded, by means of the large establishments at Milan, in supplying not only the whole Italian market but an export trade.

The match-making industry is subject to special fiscal conditions. In 1902-1903 there were 219 match factories scattered throughout Italy, but especially in Piedmont, Lombardy and Venetia. The number has been reduced to less than half since 1897 by the suppression of smaller factories, while the production has increased from 47,690 millions to 59,741 millions.

The beetroot-sugar industry has attained considerable proportions in Umbria, the Marches, Lazio, Venetia and Piedmont since 1890. In 1898-1899, 5972 tons were produced, while in 1905 the figure had risen to 93,916. The rise of the industry has been favoured by protective tariffs and by a system of excise which allows a considerable premium to manufacturers.

Alcohol has undergone various oscillations, according to the legislation governing distilleries. In 1871 only 20 hectolitres were produced, but in 1881 the output was 318,000 hectolitres, the maximum hitherto attained. Since then special laws have hampered development, some provinces, as for instance Sardinia, being allowed to manufacture for their own consumption but not for export. In other parts the industry is subjected to an almost prohibitive excise-duty. The average production is about 180,000 hectolitres per annum. The greatest quantity is produced in Lombardy, Piedmont, Venetia and Tuscany. The quantity of beer is about the same, the greater part of the beer drunk being imported from Germany, while the production of artificial mineral waters has somewhat decreased. There is a considerable trade (not very large for export, however) in natural mineral waters, which are often excellent.

Paper-making is highly developed in the provinces of Novara, Caserta, Milan, Vicenza, Turin, Como, Lucca, Ancona, Genoa, Brescia, Cuneo, Macerata and Salerno. The handmade paper of Fabriano is especially good.

Furniture-making in different styles is carried on all over Italy, especially as a result of the establishment of industrial schools. Each region produces a special type, Venetia turning out imitations of 16th- and 17th-century styles, Tuscany the 15th-century or cinquecento style, and the Neapolitan provinces the Pompeian style. Furniture and cabinet-making in great factories are carried on particularly in Lombardy and Piedmont. Bent-wood factories have been established in Venetia and Liguria.

A characteristic Italian industry is that of straw-plaiting for hat-making, which is carried on principally in Tuscany, in the district of Fermo, in the Alpine villages of the province of Vicenza, and in some communes of the provinces of Messina. The plaiting is done by country women, while the hats are made up in factories. Both plaits and hats are largely exported.

Tobacco is entirely a government monopoly; the total amount manufactured in 1902-1903 was 16,599 tons—a fairly constant figure.

The finest glass is made in Tuscany and Venetia; Venetian glass is often coloured and of artistic form.

In the various ceramic arts Italy was once unrivalled, but the ancient tradition for a long time lost its primeval impulse. The works at Vinovo, which had fame in the 18th century, came to an untimely end in 1820; those of Castelli (in the Abruzzi), which have been revived, were supplanted by Charles III.'s establishment at Capodimonte, 1750, which after producing articles of surprising execution was closed before the end of the century. The first place now belongs to the Della Doccia works at Florence. Founded in 1735 by the marquis Carlo Ginori, they maintained a reputation of the very highest kind down to about 1860; but since then they have not kept pace with their younger rivals in other lands. They still, however, are commercially successful. Other cities where the ceramic industries keep their ground are Pesaro, Gubbio, Faenza (whose name long ago became the distinctive term for the finer kind of potter's work in France (*faïence*), Savona and Albissola, Turin, Mondovì, Cuneo, Castellamonte, Milan, Brescia, Sassuolo, Imola, Rimini, Perugia, Castelli, &c. In all these the older styles, by which these places became

famous in the 16th–18th centuries, have been revived. It is estimated that the total production of the finer wares amounts on the average to £400,000 per annum. The ruder branches of the art—the making of tiles and common wares—are pretty generally diffused.

The jeweller's art received large encouragement in a country which had so many independent courts; but nowhere has it attained a fuller development than at Rome. A vast variety of trinkets—in coral, glass, lava, &c.—is exported from Italy, or carried away by the annual host of tourists. The copying of the paintings of the old masters is becoming an art industry of no small mercantile importance in some of the larger cities.

The production of mosaics is an industry still carried on with much success in Italy, which indeed ranks exceedingly high in the department. The great works of the Vatican are especially famous (more than 17,000 distinct tints are employed in their productions), and there are many other establishments in Rome. The Florentine mosaics are perhaps better known abroad; they are composed of larger pieces than the Roman. Those of the Venetian artists are remarkable for the boldness of their colouring. There is a tendency towards the fostering of feminine home industries—lace-making, linen-weaving, &c.

Condition of the Working Classes.—The condition of the numerous agricultural labourers (who constitute one-third of the population) is, except in some regions, hard, and in places absolutely miserable. Much light was thrown upon their position by the agricultural inquiry (*inchiesta agraria*) completed in 1884. The large numbers of emigrants, who are drawn chiefly from the rural classes, furnish another proof of poverty. The terms of agrarian contracts and leases (except in districts where *mezzadria* prevails in its essential form), are in many regions disadvantageous to the labourers, who suffer from the obligation to provide guarantees for payment of rent, for repayment of seed corn and for the division of products.

It was only at the close of the 19th century that the true cause of malaria—the conveyance of the infection by the bite of the *Anopheles claviger*—was discovered. This mosquito does not as a rule enter the large towns; but low-lying coast districts and ill-drained plains are especially subject to it. Much has been done in keeping out the insects by fine wire netting placed on the windows and the doors of houses, especially in the railwaymen's cottages. In 1902 the state took up the sale of quinine at a low price, manufacturing it at the central military pharmaceutical laboratory at Turin. Statistics show the difference produced by this measure.

Financial Year.	Pounds of Quinine sold.	Deaths by Malaria.
1901–1902	..	13,358
1902–1903	4,932	9,908
1903–1904	15,915	8,513
1904–1905	30,956	8,501
1905–1906	41,166	7,838
1906–1907	45,591	4,875

The profit made by the state, which is entirely devoted to a special fund for means against malaria, amounted in these five years to £41,759. It has been established that two 3-grain pastilles a day are a sufficient prophylactic; and the proprietors of malarious estates and contractors for public works in malarious districts are bound by law to provide sufficient quinine for their workmen, death for want of this precaution coming under the provisions of the workmen's compensation act. Much has also been, though much remains to be, done in the way of *bonificazione*, i. e. proper drainage and improvement of the (generally fertile) low-lying and hitherto malarious plains.

In Venetia the lives of the small proprietors and of the salaried peasants are often extremely miserable. There and in Lombardy the disease known as *pellagra* is most widely diffused. The disease is due to poisoning by micro-organisms produced by deteriorated maize, and can be combated by care in ripening, drying and storing the maize. The most recent statistics show the disease to be diminishing. Whereas in 1881 there were 104,067 (16.29 per 1000) peasants afflicted by the disease, in 1899 there were only 72,603 (10.30 per 1000) peasants, with a maximum of 39,882 (34.32 per 1000) peasants in Venetia, and 19,557 (12.90 per 1000) peasants in Lombardy. The decrease of the disease is a direct result of the efforts made to combat it, in the form of special hospitals or *pellagrosari*, economic kitchens, rural bakeries and maize-drying establishments. A bill for the better prevention of pellagra was introduced in the spring of 1902. The deaths from it dropped in that year to 2376, from 3054 in the previous year and 3788 in 1900.

In Liguria, on account of the comparative rarity of large estates, agricultural labourers are in a better condition. Men earn between 1s. 3d. and 2s. 1d. a day, and women from 5d. to 8d. In Emilia the day labourers, known as *disobbligati*, earn, on the contrary, low wages, out of which they have to provide for shelter and to lay by something against un-

employment. Their condition is miserable. In Tuscany, however, the prevalence of *mezzadria*, properly so called, has raised the labourers' position. Yet in some Tuscan provinces, as, for instance, that of Grosseto, where malaria rages, labourers are organized in gangs under "corporals," who undertake harvest work. They are poverty-stricken, and easily fall victims to fever. In the Abruzzi and in Apulia both regular and irregular workmen are engaged by the year. The *curatori* or *curatoli* (factors) receive £40 a year, with a slight interest in the profits; the stockmen hardly earn in money and kind £13; the muleteers and under-workmen get between £5 to £8, plus firewood, bread and oil; irregular workmen have even lower wages, with a daily distribution of bread, salt and oil. In Campania and Calabria the *curatoli* and *massari* earn, in money and kind, about £12 a year; cowmen, shepherds and muleteers about £10; irregular workmen are paid from 8½d. to rs. 8d. per day, but only find employment, on an average, 230 days in the year. The condition of Sicilian labourers is also miserable. The huge extent of the *latifondi*, or large estates, often results in their being left in the hands of speculators, who exploit both workmen and farmers with such usury that the latter are often compelled, at the end of a scanty year, to hand over their crops to the usurers before harvest. In Sardinia wage-earners are paid 10d. a day, with free shelter and an allotment for private cultivation. Irregular adult workmen earn between 10d. and 1s. 3d., and boys from 6d. to 10d. a day. Woodcutters and vine-waterers, however, sometimes earn as much as 3s. a day.

The peasants somewhat rarely use animal food—this is most largely used in Sardinia and least in Sicily—bread and polenta or macaroni and vegetables being the staple diet. Wine is the prevailing drink.

The condition of the workmen employed in manufactures has improved during recent years. Wages are higher, the cost of the prime necessities of life is, as a rule, lower, though taxation on some of them is still enormous; so that the remuneration of work has improved. Taking into account the variations in wages and in the price of wheat, it may be calculated that the number of hours of work requisite to earn a sum equal to the price of a cwt. of wheat fell from 183 in 1871 to 73 in 1894. In 1898 it was 105, on account of the rise in the price of wheat, and since then up till 1902 it oscillated between 105 and 95.

Wages have risen from 22·6 centimes per hour (on an average) to 26·3 centimes, but not in all industries. In the mining and woollen industries they have fallen, but have increased in mechanical, chemical, silk and cotton industries. Wages vary greatly in different parts of Italy, according to the cost of the necessities of life, the degree of development of working-class needs and the state of working-class organization, which in some places has succeeded in increasing the rates of pay. Women are, as a rule, paid less than men, and though their wages have also increased, the rise has been slighter than in the case of men. In some trades, for instance the silk trade, women earn little more than 10d. a day, and, for some classes of work, as little as 7d. and 4½d. The general improvement in sanitation has led to a corresponding improvement in the condition of the working classes, though much still remains to be done, especially in the south. On the other hand, it is generally the case that even in the most unpromising inn the bedding is clean.

The number of industrial strikes has risen from year to year, although, on account of the large number of persons involved in some of them, the rise in the number of strikers has not always corresponded to the number of strikes. During the years 1900 and 1901 strikes were increasingly numerous, chiefly on account of the growth of Socialist and working-class organizations.

The greatest proportion of strikes takes place in northern Italy, especially Lombardy and Piedmont, where manufacturing industries are most developed. Textile, building and mining industries show the highest percentage of strikes, since they give employment to large numbers of men concentrated in single localities. Agricultural strikes, though less frequent than those in manufacturing industries, have special importance in Italy. They are most common in the north and centre, a circumstance which shows them to be promoted less by the more backward and more ignorant peasants than by the better-educated labourers of Lombardy and Emilia, among whom Socialist organizations are widespread. Since 1901 there have been, more than once, general strikes at Milan and elsewhere and one in the autumn of 1905 caused great inconvenience throughout the country, and led to no effective result.

Although in some industrial centres the working-class movement has assumed an importance equal to that of other countries, there is no general working-class organization comparable to the English trade unions. Mutual benefit and co-operative societies serve the purpose of working-class defence or offence against the employers. In 1893, after many vicissitudes, the Italian Socialist Labour Party was founded, and has now become the Italian Socialist Party, in which the majority of Italian workmen enrol themselves. Printers and hat-makers, however, possess trade societies. In 1899 an agitation began for the organization of "Chambers of Labour," intended to look after the technical education of workmen and to form commissions of arbitration in case of strikes. They act also as employment bureaux, and are often centres of political propaganda. At present such "chambers" exist in many Italian cities, while "leagues of improvement," or of "resistance," are rapidly spreading in the country districts. In many cases the action of

these organizations has proved, at least temporarily, advantageous to the working classes.

Labour legislation is backward in Italy, on account of the late development of manufacturing industry and of working-class organization. On the 17th of April 1898 a species of Employers' Liability Act compelled employers of more than five workmen in certain industries to insure their employees against accidents. On the 17th of July 1898 a national fund for the insurance of workmen against illness and old age was founded by law on the principle of optional registration. In addition to an initial endowment by the state, part of the annual income of the fund is furnished in various forms by the state (principally by making over a proportion of the profits of the Post Office Savings Bank), and part by the premiums of the workmen. The minimum annual premium is six lire for an annuity of one lira per day at the age of sixty, and insurance against sickness. The low level of wages in many trades and the jealousies of the "Chambers of Labour" and other working-class organizations impede rapid development.

A law came into operation in February 1908, according to which a weekly day of rest (with few exceptions) was established on Sunday in every case in which it was possible, and otherwise upon some other day of the week.

The French institution of *Prudhommes* was introduced into Italy in 1893, under the name of *Collegi di Probitiviri*. The institution has not attained great vogue. Most of the colleges deal with matters affecting textile and mechanical industries. Each "college" is founded by royal decree, and consists of a president, with not fewer than ten and not more than twenty members. A conciliation bureau and a jury are elected to deal with disputes concerning wages, hours of work, labour contracts, &c., and have power to settle the disputes, without appeal, whenever the amounts involved do not exceed £8.

Provident institutions have considerably developed in Italy under the forms of savings banks, assurance companies and mutual benefit societies. Besides the Post Office Savings Bank and the ordinary savings banks, many co-operative credit societies and ordinary credit banks receive deposits of savings.

The greatest number of savings banks exists in Lombardy; Piedmont and Venetia come next. Campania holds the first place in the south, most of the savings of that region being deposited in the provident institutions of Naples. In Liguria and Sardinia the habit of thrift is less developed. Assurance societies in Italy are subject to the general dispositions of the commercial code regarding commercial companies. Mutual benefit societies have increased rapidly, both because their advantages have been appreciated, and because, until recently, the state had taken no steps directly to insure workmen against illness. The present Italian mutual benefit societies resemble the ancient beneficent corporations, of which in some respects they may be considered a continuation. The societies require government recognition if they wish to enjoy legal rights. The state (law of the 15th of April 1896) imposed this condition in order to determine exactly the aims of the societies, and, while allowing them to give help to their sick, old or feeble members, or aid the families of deceased members, to forbid them to pay old-age pensions, lest they assumed burdens beyond their financial strength. Nevertheless, the majority of societies have not sought recognition, being suspicious of fiscal state intervention.

Co-operation, for the various purposes of credit, distribution, production and labour, has attained great development in Italy. Credit co-operation is represented by a special type of association known as People's Banks (*Banche Popolari*). They are not, as a rule, supported by workmen or peasants, but rather by small tradespeople, manufacturers and farmers. They perform a useful function in protecting their clients from the cruel usury which prevails, especially in the south. A recent form of co-operative credit banks are the *Casse Rurali* or rural banks, on the Raiffeisen system, which lend money to peasants and small proprietors out of capital obtained on credit or by gift. These loans are made on personal security, but the members of the bank do not contribute any quota of the capital, though their liability is unlimited in case of loss. They are especially widespread in Lombardy and Venetia.

Distributive co-operation is confined almost entirely to Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, Venetia, Emilia and Tuscany, and is practically unknown in Basilicata, the Abruzzi and Sardinia.

Co-operative dairies are numerous. They have, however, much decreased in number since 1889. More numerous are the agricultural and viticultural co-operative societies, which have largely increased in number. They are to be found mainly in the fertile plains of north Italy, where they enjoy considerable success, removing the cause of labour troubles and strikes, and providing for cultivation on a sufficiently large scale. The richest, however, of the co-operative societies, though few in number, are those for the production of electricity, for textile industries and for ceramic and glass manufactures.

Co-operation in general is most widely diffused, in proportion to population, in central Italy; less so in northern Italy, and much less so in the south and the islands. It thus appears that co-operation flourishes most in the districts in which the *mezzadria* system has been prevalent.

CHAPTER XVIII

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRADE

Railways.—The first railway in Italy, a line 16 m. long from Naples to Castellammare, was opened in 1840. By 1881 there were some 5500 m. open, in 1891 some 8000 m., while in 1901 the total length was 9317 m. In July 1905 all the principal lines, which had been constructed by the state, but had been since 1885 let out to three companies (Mediterranean, Adriatic, Sicilian), were taken over by the state; their length amounted in 1901 to 6147 m., and in 1907 to 8422 m. The minor lines (many of them narrow gauge) remain in the hands of private companies. The total length, including the Sardinian railways, was 10,368 m. in 1907. The state, in taking over the railways, did not exercise sufficient care to see that the lines and the rolling stock were kept up to a proper state of efficiency and adequacy for the work they had to perform; while the step itself was taken somewhat hastily. The result was that for the first two years of state administration the service was distinctly bad, and the lack of goods trucks at the ports was especially felt. A capital expenditure of £4,000,000 annually was decided on to bring the lines up to the necessary state of efficiency to be able to cope with the rapidly increasing traffic. It was estimated in 1906 that this would have to be maintained for a period of ten years, with a further total expenditure of £14,000,000 on new lines.

Comparing the state of things in 1901 with that of 1881, for the whole country, we find the passenger and goods traffic almost doubled (except the cattle traffic), the capital expenditure almost doubled, the working expenses per mile almost imperceptibly increased, and the gross receipts per mile slightly lower. The *personnel* had increased from 70,568 to 108,690. The construction of numerous unremunerative lines, and the free granting of concessions to government and other employees (and also of cheap tickets on special occasions for congresses, &c., in various towns, without strict inquiry into the qualifications of the claimants) will account for the failure to realize a higher profit. The fares (in slow trains, with the addition of 10 % for expenses) are: 1st class, 1'85d.; 2nd, 1'3d.; 3rd, 0'725d. per mile. There are, however, considerable reductions for distances over 93 m., on a scale increasing in proportion to the distance.

The taking over of the main lines by the state has of course produced a considerable change in the financial situation of the railways. The state incurred in this connexion a liability of some £20,000,000, of which about £16,000,000 represented the rolling stock. The state has considerably improved the engines and passenger carriages. The capital value of the whole of the lines, rolling stock, &c., for 1908–1909 was calculated approximately at £244,161,400, and the profits at £5,295,019, or 2'2 %.

Milan is the most important railway centre in the country, and is followed by Turin, Genoa, Verona, Bologna, Rome, Naples. Lombardy and Piedmont are much better provided with railways in proportion to their area than any other parts of Italy; next come Venetia, Emilia and the immediate environs of Naples.

The northern frontier is crossed by the railway from Turin to Ventimiglia by the Col di Tenda, the Mont Cenis line from Turin to Modane (the tunnel is 7 m. in length), the Simplon line (tunnel 11 m. in length) from Domodossola to Brigue, the St Gotthard from Milan to Chiasso (the tunnel is entirely in Swiss territory), the Brenner from Verona to Trent, the line from Udine to Tarvis and the line from Venice to Triest by the Adriatic coast. Besides these international lines the most important are those from Milan to Turin (via Vercelli and via Alessandria), to Genoa via Tortona, to

Bologna via Parma and Modena, to Verona, and the shorter lines to the district of the lakes of Lombardy; from Turin to Genoa via Savona and via Alessandria; from Genoa to Savona and Ventimiglia along the Riviera, and along the south-west coast of Italy, via Sarzana (whence a line runs to Parma) to Pisa (whence lines run to Pistoia and Florence) and Rome; from Verona to Modena, and to Venice via Padua; from Bologna to Padua, to Rimini (and thence along the north-east coast via Ancona, Castellammare Adriatico and Foggia to Brindisi and Otranto), and to Florence and Rome; from Rome to Ancona, to Castellammare Adriatico and to Naples; from Naples to Foggia, via Metaponto (with a junction for Reggio di Calabria), to Brindisi and to Reggio di Calabria. The speed of the trains is not high, nor are the runs without stoppage long as a rule. One of the fastest runs is from Rome to Orte, 52.40 m. in 69 min., or 45.40 m. per hour, but this is a double line with little traffic. The low speed reduces the potentiality of the lines. The insufficiency of rolling stock, and especially of goods wagons, is mainly caused by delays in "handling" traffic consequent on this or other causes, among which may be mentioned the great length of the single lines south of Rome. It is thus a matter of difficulty to provide trucks for a sudden emergency, *e. g.* the vintage season; and in 1905-1907 complaints were many, while the seaports were continually short of trucks. This led to deficiencies in the supply of coal to the manufacturing centres, and to some diversion elsewhere of shipping.

Steam and Electric Tramways.—Tramways with mechanical traction have developed rapidly. Between 1875, when the first line was opened, and 1901, the length of the lines grew to 1890 m. of steam and 270 m. of electric tramways. These lines exist principally in Lombardy (especially in the province of Milan), in Piedmont, especially in the province of Turin, and in other regions of northern and central Italy. In the south they are rare, on account partly of the mountainous character of the country, and partly of the scarcity of traffic. All the important towns of Italy are provided with internal electric tramways, mostly with overhead wires.

Carriage-roads have been greatly extended in modern times, although their ratio to area varies in different localities. In north Italy there are 1480 yds. of road per sq. m.; in central Italy 993; in southern Italy 405; in Sardinia 596, and in Sicily only 244. They are as a rule well kept up in north and central Italy, less so in the south, where, especially in Calabria, many villages are inaccessible by road and have only footpaths leading to them. By the act of 1903 the state contributes half and the province a quarter of the cost of roads connecting communes with the nearest railway stations or landing places.

Inland Navigation.—Navigable canals had in 1886 a total length of about 655 m.; they are principally situated in Piedmont, Lombardy and Venetia, and are thus practically confined to the Po basin. Canals lead from Milan to the Ticino, Adda and Po. The Po is itself navigable from Turin downwards, but through its delta it is so sandy that canals are preferred, the Po di Volano and the Po di Primaro on the right, and the Canale Bianco on the left. The total length of navigable rivers is 967 m.

Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones.—The number of post offices (including *collettorie*, or collecting offices, which are rapidly being eliminated) increased from 2200 in 1862 to 4823 in 1881, 6700 in 1891 and 8817 in 1904. In spite of a large increase in the number of letters and post-cards (*i. e.* nearly 10 per inhabitant per annum in 1904, as against 5.65 in 1888) the average is considerably below that of most other European countries. The number of state telegraph offices was 4003, of other offices (railway and tramway stations, which accept private telegrams for transmission) 1930. The telephone system is considerably developed; in 1904, 92 urban and 66 inter-urban systems existed. They were installed by private companies, but have been taken over by the state. International communication between Rome and Paris, and Italy and Switzerland also exists. The parcel post and money order services have largely increased since 1887-1888, the number of parcels having almost doubled (those for abroad are more than trebled), while the number of money orders issued is trebled and their value doubled (about £40,000,000). The value of the foreign orders paid in Italy increased from £1,280,000 to £2,356,000—owing to the increase of emigration and of the savings sent home by emigrants.

At the end of 1907 Italy was among the few countries that had not adopted the reduction of postage sanctioned at the Postal Union congress, held in Rome in 1906, by which the rates became 2½d. for the first oz., and 1½d. per oz. afterwards. The internal rate is 15c. (1½d.) per ½ oz.; post-cards 10c. (1d.), reply 15c. On the other hand, letters within the postal district are only 5c. (½d.) per ½ oz. Printed matter is 2c. (½d.) per 50 grammes (1½ oz.). The regulations provide that if there is a greater weight of correspondence (including book-packets) than 1¼ lb for any individual by any one delivery, notice shall be given him that it is lying at the post office, he being then obliged to arrange for fetching it. Letters insured for a fixed sum are not delivered under any circumstances.

Money order cards are very convenient and cheap (up to 10 lire [8s.] for 10c. [1d.]), as they need not be enclosed in a letter, while a short private message can be written on them. Owing to the comparatively small amount of letters, it is found possible to have a travelling post office on all principal trains (while almost every train has a travelling sorter, for whom a compartment is reserved) without a late fee being exacted in either case. In the principal towns letters may be posted in special boxes at the head office just before the departure of

any given mail train, and are conveyed direct to the travelling post office. Another convenient arrangement is the provision of letter-boxes on electric tramcars in some cities.

Mercantile Marine.—Between the years 1881 and 1905 the number of ships entered and cleared at Italian ports decreased slightly (219,598 in 1881 and 208,737 in 1905), while their aggregate tonnage increased (32,070,704 in 1881 and 80,782,030 in 1905). In the movement of shipping, trade with foreign countries prevails (especially as regards arrivals) over trade between Italian ports. Most of the merchandise and passengers bound for and hailing from foreign ports sail under foreign flags. Similarly, foreign vessels prevail over Italian vessels in regard to goods embarked. European countries absorb the greater part of Italian sea-borne trade, whereas most of the passenger traffic goes to North and South America. The substitution of steamships for sailing vessels has brought about a diminution in the number of vessels belonging to the Italian mercantile marine, whether employed in the coasting trade, the fisheries or in traffic on the high seas. Thus:—

Year.	Total No. of Ships.	Steamships.		Sailing Vessels.	
		Number.	Tonnage (Net).	Number.	Tonnage (Net).
1881	7815	176	93,698	7,639	895,359
1905	5596	513	462,259	5,083	570,355

Among the steamers the increase has chiefly taken place in vessels of more than 1000 tons displacement, but the number of large sailing vessels has also increased. The most important Italian ports are (in order): Genoa, Naples, Palermo, Leghorn, Messina, Venice, Catania.

Foreign Trade.—Italian trade with foreign countries (imports and exports) during the quinquennium 1872–1876 averaged £94,000,000 a year; in the quinquennium 1893–1897 it fell to £88,960,000 a year. In 1898, however, the total rose to £104,680,000, but the increase was principally due to the extra importation of corn in that year. In 1899 it was nearly £120,000,000. Since 1899 there has been a steady increase both in imports and exports. Thus:—

Year.	Trade with Foreign Countries in £1000 (exclusive of Precious Metals). ¹			
	Totals.	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of Imports over Exports.
1871	81,966	38,548	43,418	- 4,870
1881	96,208	49,587	46,621	2,966
1891	80,135	45,063	35,072	9,991
1900	121,538	68,009	53,529	14,480
1904	140,437	76,549	63,888	12,661

¹ No account has here been taken of fluctuations of exchange.

The great extension of Italian coast-line is thought by some to be not really a source of strength to the Italian mercantile marine, as few of the ports have a large enough hinterland to provide them with traffic, and in this hinterland (except in the basin of the Po) there are no canals or navigable rivers. Another source of weakness is the fact that Italy is a country of transit and the Italian mercantile marine has to enter into competition with the ships of other countries, which call there in passing. A third difficulty is the comparatively small tonnage and volume of Italian exports relatively to the imports, the former in 1907 being about one-fourth of the latter, and greatly out of proportion to the relative value; while a fourth is the lack of facilities for handling goods, especially in the smaller ports.

The total imports for the first six months of 1907 amounted to £57,840,000, an increase of £7,520,000 as compared with the corresponding period of 1906. The exports for the corresponding period amounted to £35,840,000, a diminution of £1,520,000 as compared with the corresponding period of 1906. The diminution was due to a smaller exportation of raw silk and oil. The countries with which this trade is mainly carried on are: (imports) United Kingdom, Germany, United States, France, Russia and India; (exports) Switzerland, United States, Germany, France, United Kingdom and Argentina.

The most important imports are minerals, including coal and metals (both in pig and wrought); silks, raw, spun and woven; stone, potter's earths, earthenware and glass; corn, flour and farinaceous products; cotton, raw, spun and woven; and live stock. The principal exports are silk and cotton tissues, live stock, wines, spirits and oils; corn, flour, macaroni and similar products; and minerals, chiefly sulphur. Before the tariff reform of 1887 manufactured articles, alimentary products and raw materials for manufacture held the principal places in the imports. In the exports, alimentary products came first, while raw materials for manufacture and manufactured articles were of little account. The transformation of Italy from a purely agricultural into a largely industrial country is shown by the circumstance that trade in raw stuffs, semi-manufactured and manufactured materials, now preponderates over that in alimentary products and wholly-manufactured articles, both the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured articles having increased. The balance of Italian trade has undergone frequent fluctuations. The large predominance of imports over exports after 1884 was a result of the falling off of the export trade in live stock, olive oil and wine, on account of the closing of the French market, while the importation of corn from Russia and the Balkan States increased considerably. In 1894 the excess of imports over exports fell to £2,720,000, but by 1898 it had grown to £8,391,000, in consequence chiefly of the increased importation of coal, raw cotton and cotton thread, pig and cast iron, old iron, grease and oil-seeds for use in Italian industries. In 1899 the excess of imports over exports fell to £3,006,000; but since then it has never been less than £12,000,000.

CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATION

PUBLIC instruction in Italy is regulated by the state, which maintains public schools of every grade, and requires that other public schools shall conform to the rules of the state schools. No private person may open a school without state authorization. Schools may be classed thus :—

1. Elementary, of two grades, of the lower of which there must legally be at least one for boys and one for girls in each commune ; while the upper grade elementary school is required in communes having normal and secondary schools or over 4000 inhabitants. In both the instruction is free. They are maintained by the communes, sometimes with state help. The age limit is six to nine years for the lower grade, and up to twelve for the higher grade, attendance being obligatory at the latter also where it exists.
2. Secondary instruction : (i.) classical in the *ginnasi* and *licei*, the latter leading to the universities ; (ii.) technical.
3. Higher education—universities, higher institutes and special schools.

Of the secondary and higher educatory methods, in the normal schools and *licei* the state provides for the payment of the staff and for scientific material, and often largely supports the *ginnasi* and technical schools, which should by law be supported by the communes. The universities are maintained by the state and by their own ancient resources ; while the higher special schools are maintained conjointly by the state, the province, the commune and (sometimes) the local chamber of commerce.

The number of persons unable to read and write has gradually decreased, both absolutely and in proportion to the number of inhabitants. The census of 1871 gave 73 % of illiterates, that of 1881, 67 %, and that of 1901, 56 %, *i.e.* 51·8 for males and 60·8 for females. In Piedmont there were 17·7 % of illiterates above six years (the lowest) and in Calabria 78·7 % (the highest), the figures for the whole country being 48·5. As might be expected, progress has been most rapid wherever education, at the moment of national unification, was most widely diffused. For instance, the number of bridegrooms unable to write their names in 1872 was in the province of Turin 26 %, and in the Calabrian province of Cosenza 90 % ; in 1899 the percentage in the province of Turin had fallen to 5 %, while in that of Cosenza it was still 76 %. Infant asylums (where the first rudiments of instruction are imparted to children between two and a half and six years of age) and elementary schools have increased in number. There has been a corresponding increase in the number of scholars. Thus :—

Year.	Infant Asylums (Public and Private).		Daily Elementary Schools. (Public and Private).	
	Number of Asylums.	Number of Scholars.	Number of Schoolrooms.	Number of Scholars.
1885-86	2083	240,365	53,628	2,252,898
1890-91	2296	278,204	57,077	2,418,692
1901-02	3314	355,594	61,777	2,733,349

The teachers in 1901-1902 numbered 65,739 (exclusive of 576 non-teaching directors and 322 teachers of special subjects) or about 41·5 scholars per teacher.

The rate of increase in the public state-supported schools has been much greater than in the private schools. School buildings have been improved and the qualifications of teachers raised. Nevertheless, many schools are still defective, both from a hygienic and a teaching point of view ; while the economic position of the elementary

teachers, who in Italy depend upon the communal administrations and not upon the state, is still in many parts of the country extremely low.

The law of 1877 rendering education compulsory for children between six and nine years of age has been the principal cause of the spread of elementary education. The law is, however, imperfectly enforced for financial reasons. In 1901-1902 only 65 % out of the whole number of children between six and nine years of age were registered in the lower standards of the elementary and private schools. The evening schools have to some extent helped to spread education. Their number and that of their scholars have, however, decreased since the withdrawal of state subsidies. In 1871-1872 there were 375,947 scholars at the evening schools and 154,585 at the holiday schools, while in 1900-1901 these numbers had fallen to 94,510 and 35,460 respectively. These are, however, the only institutions in which a decrease is shown, and by the law of 1906 5000 of these institutions are to be provided in the communes where the proportion of illiterates is highest. In 1895 they numbered 4245, with 138,181 scholars. Regimental schools impart elementary education to illiterate soldiers. Whereas the levy of 1894 showed 40 % of the recruits to be completely illiterate, only 27 % were illiterate when the levy was discharged in 1897. Private institutions and working-class associations have striven to improve the intellectual conditions of the working classes. Popular universities have lately attained considerable development. The number of institutes devoted to secondary education remained almost unchanged between 1880-1881 and 1895-1896. In some places the number has even been diminished by the suppression of private educational institutes. But the number of scholars has considerably increased, and shows a ratio superior to the general increase of the population. The greatest increase has taken place in technical education, where it has been much more rapid than in classical education. There are three higher commercial schools, with academic rank, at Venice, Genoa and Bari, and eleven secondary commercial schools; and technical and commercial schools for women at Florence and Milan. The number of agricultural schools has also grown, although the total is relatively small when compared with population. The attendance at the various classes of secondary schools in 1882 and 1902 is shown by the following table:—

	1882.	1902.	No. of Schools.
Ginnasi—			
Government	13,875	24,081	192
On an equal footing with government schools . .	6,417	7,208	76
Not on such a footing	22,609	24,850 ¹	442
Total	42,811	56,139	710
Technical Schools—			
Government	7,510	30,411	188
On an equal footing	8,653	12,055	101
Not on such a footing	8,670	3,623 ¹	106 ¹
Total	24,833	46,089	395
Licei—			
Government	6,623	10,983	121
On an equal footing	1,167	1,935	33
Not on such a footing	4,600	4,962 ¹	187
Total	12,390	17,900	341
Technical institutes—			
Government	5,555	9,654	54
On an equal footing	1,684	1,898	18
Not on such a footing	619	378 ¹	7
Total	7,858	11,930	79
Nautical institutes—			
Government	758	1,878	18
On an equal footing	69	38	1
Not on such a footing	13	29 ¹	1
Total	816	1,945	20

The schools which do not obtain equality with government schools are either some of those conducted by religious orders, or else those in which a sufficient standard is not reached. The total number of such schools was, in 1896, 742 with 33,813 pupils.

The pupils of the secondary schools reach a maximum of 6.60 per 1000 in Liguria and 5.92 in Latium, and a minimum of 2.30 in the Abruzzi, 2.27 in Calabria and 1.65 in Basilicata.

For the boarding schools, or *convitti*, there are only incomplete reports except for the institutions directly dependent on the ministry of public instruction, which are comparatively few. The rest are largely directed by religious institutions. In 1895-1896 there were 919 convitti for boys, with 59,066 pupils, of which 40, with 3814 pupils, were dependent on the ministry (in 1901-1902 there were 43 of these with 4036 pupils); and 1456 for girls, with 49,367 pupils, of which only 8, with about 600 pupils, were dependent on the ministry.

The *scuole normali* or training schools (117 in number, of which 75 were government institutions) for teachers had 1329 male students in 1901-1902, showing hardly any increase, while the female students increased from 8005 in 1882-1883 to 22,316 in 1895-1896, but decreased to 19,044 in 1901-1902, owing to the admission of women to telegraph and telephone work. The female secondary schools in 1881-1882 numbered 77, of which 7 were government institutions, with 3569 pupils; in 1901-1902 there were 233 schools (9 governmental) with 9347 pupils.

The total attendance of students in the various faculties at the different universities and higher institutes is as follows:—

	1882.	1902.
Law	4,801	8,385
Philosophy and letters	419	1,703
Medicine and surgery	4,428	9,055
Professional diploma, pharmacy	798	3,290
Mathematics and natural science	1,364	3,500
Engineering	982	1,293
Agriculture	145	507
Commerce	128	167
Total	13,065	27,900

Thus a large all-round increase in secondary and higher education is shown—satisfactory in many respects, but showing that more young men devote themselves to the learned professions (especially to the law) than the economic condition of the country will justify. There are 21 universities—Bologna, Cagliari, Camerino, Catania, Ferrara, Genoa, Macerata, Messina, Modena, Naples, Padua, Palermo, Parma, Pavia, Perugia, Pisa, Rome, Sassari, Siena, Turin, Urbino, of which Camerino, Ferrara, Perugia and Urbino are not state institutions; university courses are also given at Aquila, Bari and Catanzaro. Of these the most frequented in 1904-1905 were: Naples (4745), Turin (3451), Rome (2630), Bologna (1711), Pavia (1559), Padua (1364), Genoa (1276), and the least frequented, Cagliari (254), Siena (235) and Sassari (200). The professors are ordinary and extraordinary, and free professors (*liberi docenti*), corresponding to the German *Privatdozenten*, are also allowed to be attached to the universities.

The institutions which co-operate with the universities are the special schools for engineers at Turin, Naples, Rome and Bologna (and others attached to some of the universities), the higher technical institute at Milan, the higher veterinary schools of Milan, Naples and Turin, the institute for higher studies at Florence (*Istituto di studi superiori, pratici e di perfezionamento*), the literary and scientific academy of Milan, the higher institutes for the training of female teachers at Florence and Rome, the Institute of Social Studies at Florence, the higher commercial schools at Venice, Bari and Genoa, the commercial university founded by L. Bocconi at Milan in 1902, the higher naval school at Genoa, the higher schools of agriculture at Milan and Portici, the experimental institute at Perugia, the school of forestry at Vallambrosa, the industrial museum at Turin. The special secondary institutions, distinct from those already reckoned under the universities and allied schools, include an Oriental institute at Naples with 243 pupils; 34 schools of agriculture with (1904-1905) 1925 students; 2 schools of mining (at Caltanissetta and Iglesias) with (1904-1905) 83 students; 308 industrial and commercial schools with (1903-1904) 46,411 students; 174 schools of design and moulding with (1898) 12,556 students; 13 government fine art institutes (1904-1905) with 2778 students, and 13 non-government with 1662 students; 5 government institutes of music with 1026 students, and 51 non-government with 4109 pupils (1904-1905). Almost all of these show a considerable increase.

Libraries are numerous in Italy, those even of small cities being often rich in manuscripts and valuable works. Statistics collected in 1893-1894 and 1896 revealed the existence of 1831 libraries, either private (but open to the public) or completely public. The public

libraries have been enormously increased since 1870 by the incorporation of the treasures of suppressed monastic institutions. The richest in manuscripts is that of the Vatican, especially since the purchase of the Barberini Library in 1902; it now contains over 34,000 MSS. The Vatican archives are also of great importance. Most large towns contain important state or communal archives, in which a considerable amount of research is being done by local investigators; the various societies for local history (*Società di Storia Patria*) do very good work and issue valuable publications; the treasures which the archives contain are by no means exhausted. Libraries and archives are under the superintendence of the Ministry of Public Instruction. A separate department of this ministry under a director-general has the charge of antiquities and fine arts, making archaeological excavations and supervising those undertaken by private persons (permission to foreigners, even to foreign schools, to excavate in Italy is rarely granted), and maintaining the numerous state museums and picture galleries. The exportation of works of art and antiquities from Italy without leave of the ministry is forbidden (though it has in the past been sometimes evaded). An inventory of those objects, the exportation of which can in no case be permitted, has been prepared; and the ministry has at its disposal a fund of £200,000 for the purchase of important works of art of all kinds.

CHAPTER XX

CHARITY AND RELIGION

IN Italy there is no legal right in the poor to be supported by the parish or commune, nor any obligation on the commune to relieve the poor—except in the case of forsaken children and the sick poor. Public charity is exercised through the permanent charitable foundations (*opere pie*), which are, however, very unequally distributed in the different provinces. The districts of Italy which show between 1881 and 1903 the greatest increase of new institutions, or of gifts to old ones, are Lombardy, Piedmont, Liguria, while Sardinia, Calabria and Basilicata stand lowest, Latium standing comparatively low.

The patrimony of Italian charitable institutions is considerable and is constantly increasing. In 1880 the number of charitable institutions (exclusive of public pawnshops, or *Monti di Pietà*, and other institutions which combine operations of credit with charity) was approximately 22,000, with an aggregate patrimony of nearly £80,000,000. The revenue was about £3,600,000; after deduction of taxes, interest on debts, expenses of management, &c., £2,080,000. Adding to this £1,240,000 of communal and provincial subsidies, the product of the labour of inmates, temporary subscriptions, &c., the net revenue available for charity was, during 1880, £3,860,000. Of this sum £260,000 was spent for religious purposes. Between 1881 and 1905 the bequests to existing institutions and sums left for the endowment of new institutions amounted to about £16,604,600.

Charitable institutions take, as a rule, the two forms of outdoor and indoor relief and attendance. The indoor institutions are the more important in regard to endowment, and consist of hospitals for the infirm (a number of these are situated at the seaside); of hospitals for chronic and incurable diseases; of orphan asylums; of poorhouses and shelters for beggars; of infant asylums or institutes for the first education of children under six years of age; of lunatic asylums; of homes for the deaf and dumb; and of institutes for the blind. The outdoor charitable institutions include those which distribute help in money or food; those which supply medicine and medical help; those which aid mothers unable to rear their own children; those which subsidize orphans and foundlings; those which subsidize educational institutes; and those which supply marriage portions. Between 1881 and 1898 the chief increases took place in the endowments of hospitals; orphan asylums; infant asylums; poorhouses; almshouses; voluntary workhouses; and institutes for the blind. The least creditably administered of these are the asylums for abandoned infants; in 1887, of a total of 23,913, 53·77 % died; while during the years 1893–1896 (no later statistics are available) of 117,970 51·72 % died. The average mortality under one year for the whole of Italy in 1893–1896 was only 16·66 %.

Italian charity legislation was reformed by the laws of 1862 and 1890, which attempted to provide efficacious protection for endowments, and to ensure the application of the income to the purposes for which it was intended. The law considers as “charitable institutions” (*opere pie*) all poorhouses, almshouses and institutes which partly or wholly give help to able-bodied or infirm paupers, or seek to improve their moral and economic condition; and also the *Congregazioni di carità* (municipal charity boards existing in every commune, and composed of members elected by the municipal council), which administer funds destined for the poor in general. All charitable institutions were under the protection of provincial administrative junta, existing in every province, and empowered to control the management of charitable endowments.

The supreme control was vested in the minister of the Interior. The law of 1890 also empowers every citizen to appeal to the tribunals on behalf of the poor, for whose benefit a given charitable institution may have been intended. A more recent law provides for the formation of a central body, with provincial commissions under it. Its effect, however, has been comparatively small.

Public pawnshops or *Monti di piet * numbered 555 in 1896, with a net patrimony of £2,879,625. In that year their income, including revenue from capital, was £416,385, and their expenditure £300,232. The amount lent on security was £4,153,229.

The *Monti frumentarii* or co-operative corn deposits, which lend seed corn to farmers, and are repaid after harvest with interest in kind, numbered 1615 in 1894, and possessed a patrimony of £240,000.

In addition to the regular charitable institutions, the communal and provincial authorities exercise charity, the former (in 1899) to the extent of £1,827,166 and the latter to the extent of £919,832 per annum. Part of these sums is given to hospitals, and part spent directly by the communal and provincial authorities. Of the sum spent by the communes, about $\frac{1}{2}$ goes for the sanitary service (doctors, midwives, vaccination), $\frac{1}{3}$ for the maintenance of foundlings, $\frac{1}{6}$ for the support of the sick in hospitals, and $\frac{1}{6}$ for sheltering the aged and needy. Of the sum spent by the provincial authorities, over half goes to lunatic asylums and over a quarter to the maintenance of foundling hospitals.

The great majority of Italians—97.12 %—are Roman Catholics. Besides the ordinary Latin rite, several others are recognized. The Armenians of Venice maintain their traditional characteristics. The Albanians of the southern provinces still employ the Greek rite and the Greek language in their public worship, and their priests, like those of the Greek Church, are allowed to marry. Certain peculiarities introduced by St Ambrose distinguish the ritual of Milan from that of the general church. Up to 1871 the island of Sicily was, according to the bull of Urban II., ecclesiastically dependent on the king, and exempt from the canonical power of the pope.

Though the territorial authority of the papal see was practically abolished in 1870, the fact that Rome is the seat of the administrative centre of the vast organization of the church is not without significance to the nation. In the same city in which the administrative functions of the body politic are centralized there still exists the court of the spiritual potentate which in 1879 consisted of 1821 persons. Protestants number some 65,000, of whom half are Italian and half foreign. Of the former 22,500 are Waldensians. The number of Jews was returned as 36,000, but is certainly higher. There are, besides, in Italy some 2500 members of the Greek Orthodox Church. There were in 1901 20,707 parishes in Italy, 68,444 secular clergy and 48,043 regulars (monks, lay brothers and nuns). The size of parishes varies from province to province, Sicily having larger parishes in virtue of the old Sicilian church laws, and Naples, and some parts of central Italy, having the smallest. The Italian parishes had in 1901 a total gross revenue, including assignments from the public worship endowment fund, of £1,280,000 or an average of £63 per parish; 51 % of this gross sum consists of revenue from glebe lands.

The kingdom is divided into 264 sees and ten abbeys, or prelatures *nullius in dioceseos*. The dioceses are as follows:—

A. 6 suburbicarian sees—Ostia and Velletri, Porto and Sta Rufina, Albano, Frascati, Palestrina, Sabina—all held by cardinal bishops.

B. 74 sees immediately subject to the Holy See, of which 12 are archiepiscopal and 61 episcopal.

C. 37 ecclesiastical provinces, each under a metropolitan, composed of 148 suffragan dioceses. Their position is indicated in the following table:—

<i>Metropolitans.</i>	<i>Suffragans.</i>
Acerenza-Matera	Anglona-Tursi, Tricarico, Venosa.
Bari	Conversano, Ruvo-Bitonto.
Benevento	St Agata de' Goti, Alife, Ariano, Ascoli Satriano Cerignola, Avellino, Bojano, Bovino, Larino, Lucera, S. Severo, Teleso (Cerreto), Termoli.
Bologna	Faenza, Imola.
Brindisi and Ostuni	No suffragan.
Cagliari	Galtelli-Nuoro, Iglesias, Ogliastro.
Capua	Caiazza, Calvi-Teano, Caserta, Isernia-Venafro, Sessa.
Chieti and Vasto	No suffragan.
Conza and Campagna	S Angelo de' Lombardi-Bisaccia, Lacedonia, Muro Lucano.
Fermo	Macerata-Tolentino, Montalto, Ripatransone, S Severino.
Florence	Borgo S Sepolcro, Colle di Val d'Elsa, Fiesole, S Miniato, Modigliana, Pistoia-Prato.
Genoa	Albenga, Bobbio, Chiavari, Savona-Noli, Tortona, Ventimiglia.
Lanciano and Ortona	No suffragan.
Manfredonia and Viesti	No suffragan.
Messina	Lipari, Nicosia, Patti.

<i>Metropolitans.</i>	<i>Suffragans.</i>
Milan	Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Crema, Cremona, Lodi, Mantua, Pavia.
Modena	Carpi, Guastalla, Massa-Carrara, Reggio.
Monreale	Caltanissetta, Girgenti.
Naples	Acerra, Ischia, Nola, Pozzuoli.
Oristano	Ales-Terralba.
Otranto	Gallipoli, Lecce, Ugento.
Palermo	Cefalù, Mazzara, Trapani.
Pisa	Leghorn, Pescia, Pontremoli, Volterra.
Ravenna	Bertinoro, Cervia, Cesena, Comacchio, Forlì, Rimini, Sarsina.
Reggio Calabria	Bova, Cassano, Catanzaro, Cotrone, Gerace, Nicastro, Oppido, Nicotera-Tropea, Squillace.
Salerno	Acerno, Capaccio-Vallo, Diano, Marsico-Nuovo and Potenza, Nocera dei Pagani, Nusco, Policastro.
Sassari	Alghero, Ampurias and Tempio, Bisarhio, Bosa.
S Severino	Cariati
Siena	Chiusi-Pienza, Grosseto, Massa Marittima, Sovana-Pitigliano.
Syracuse	Caltagirone, Noto, Piazza-Armerina.
Sorrento	Castellammare.
Taranto	Castellaneta, Oria.
Trani-Nazareth-Barletta, Bisceglie	Andria.
Turin	Acqui, Alba, Aosta, Asti, Cuneo, Fossano, Ivrea, Mondovì, Pinerolo, Saluzzo, Susa.
Urbino	S Angelo in Vado-Urbania, Cagli-Pergola, Fossombrone, Montefeltro, Pesaro, Sinigaglia.
Venice (patriarch)	Adria, Belluno-Feltre, Ceneda (Vittorio), Chioggia, Concordia- Portogruaro, Padua, Treviso, Verona, Vicenza.
Vercelli	Alessandria della Paglia, Biella, Casale, Monferrato, Novara, Vigevano.

Twelve archbishops and sixty-one bishops are independent of all metropolitan supervision, and hold directly of the Holy See. The archbishops are those of Amalfi, Aquila, Camerino and Treia, Catania, Cosenza, Ferrara, Gaeta, Lucca, Perugia, Rossano, Spoleto, and Udine, and the bishops those of Acireale, Acquapendente, Alatri, Amelia, Anagni, Ancona-Umana, Aquino-Sora-Pontecorvo, Arezzo, Ascoli, Assisi, Aversa, Bagnorea, Borgo San Donnino, Cava-Sarno, Città di Castello, Città della Pieve, Cività Castellana-Orte-Gallese, Corneto-Civita Vecchia, Cortona, Fabriano-Matelica, Fano, Ferentino Foggia, Foligno, Gravina-Montepeloso, Gubbio, Jesi, Luni-Sarzana and Bragnato, S Marco-Bisignano, Marsi (Pescina), Melfi-Rapolla Mileto, Molfetta-Terlizzi-Giovannazzo, Monopoli, Montalcino, Montefiascone, Montepulciano, Nardo, Narni, Nocera in Umbria, Norcia, Orvieto, Osimo-Cingoli, Parma, Penne-Atri, Piacenza, Poggio Mirteto, Recanati-Loreto, Rieti, Segni, Sutri-Nepi, Teramo, Terni, Terracina-Piperno-Sezze, Tivoli, Todi, Trivento, Troia, Valva-Sulmona, Veroli, Viterbo-Toscanello. Excluding the diocese of Rome and suburbicarian sees, each see has an average area of 430 sq. m. and a population of 121,285 souls. The largest sees exist in Venetia and Lombardy, and the smallest in the provinces of Naples, Leghorn, Forlì, Ancona, Pesaro, Urbino, Caserta, Avellino and Ascoli. The Italian sees (exclusive of Rome and of the suburbicarian sees) have a total annual revenue of £206,000 equal to an average of £800 per see. The richest is that of Girgenti, with £6304, and the poorest that of Porto Maurizio, with only £246. In each diocese is a seminary or diocesan school.

In 1855 an act was passed in the Sardinian states for the disestablishment of all houses of the religious orders not engaged in preaching, teaching or the care of the sick, of all chapters of collegiate churches not having a cure of souls or existing in towns of less than 20,000 inhabitants, and of all private benefices for which no service was paid by the holders. The property and money thus obtained were used to form an ecclesiastical fund (*Cassa Ecclesiastica*) distinct from the finances of the state. This act resulted in the suppression of 274 monasteries with 3733 friars, of 61 nunneries with 1756 nuns and of 2722 chapters and benefices. In 1860 and 1861 the royal commissioners (even before the constitution of the new kingdom of Italy had been formally declared) issued decrees by which there were abolished—(1) in Umbria, 197 monasteries and 102 convents with 1809 male and 2393 female associates, and 836 chapters or benefices; (2) in the Marches, 292 monasteries and 127 convents with 2950 male and 2728 female associates; (3) in the Neapolitan provinces, 747 monasteries and 275 convents with 8787 male and 7493 female associates. There were thus disestablished in seven or eight years 2075 houses of the regular clergy occupied by 31,649 persons; and the confiscated property yielded a revenue of £398,298. And at the same time there had been suppressed 11,889 chapters and benefices of the secular clergy, which yielded an annual income of £109,149. The value of the capital thus potentially freed was estimated at £12,000,000; though hitherto the ecclesiastical possessions in

Lombardy, Emilia, Tuscany and Sicily had been untouched. As yet the Cassa Ecclesiastica had no right to dispose of the property thus entrusted to it; but in 1862 an act was passed by which it transferred all its real property to the national domain, and was credited with a corresponding amount by the exchequer. The property could now be disposed of like the other property of the domain; and except in Sicily, where the system of emphyteusis was adopted, the church lands began to be sold by auction. To encourage the poorer classes of the people to become landholders, it was decided that the lots offered for sale should be small, and that the purchaser should be allowed to pay by five or ten yearly instalments. By a new act in 1866 the process of secularization was extended to the whole kingdom. All the members of the suppressed communities received full exercise of all the ordinary political and civil rights of laymen; and annuities were granted to all those who had taken permanent religious vows prior to the 18th of January 1864. To priests and choristers, for example, of the proprietary or endowed orders were assigned £24 per annum if they were upwards of sixty years of age, £16 if upwards of 40, and £14, 8s. if younger. The Cassa Ecclesiastica was abolished, and in its stead was instituted a *Fondo pel Culto*, or public worship fund. From the general confiscation were exempted the buildings actually used for public worship, as episcopal residences or seminaries, &c., or which had been appropriated to the use of schools, poorhouses, hospitals, &c.; as well as the buildings, appurtenances, and movable property of the abbey of Monte Casino, Della Cava dei Tirreni, San Martino della Scala, Monreale, Certosa near Pavia, and other establishments of the same kind of importance as architectural or historical monuments. An annuity equal to the ascertained revenue of the suppressed institutions was placed to the credit of the fund in the government 5 % consols. A fourth of this sum was to be handed to the communes to be employed on works of beneficence or education as soon as a surplus was obtained from that part of the annuity assigned for the payment of monastic pensions; and in Sicily, 209 communes entered on their privileges as soon as the patrimony was liquidated. Another act in 1867 decreed the suppression of certain foundations which had escaped the action of previous measures, put an extraordinary tax of 30 % on the whole of the patrimony of the church, and granted the government the right of issuing 5 % bonds sufficient to bring into the treasury £16,000,000, which were to be accepted at their nominal value as purchase money for the alienated property. The public worship endowment fund has relieved the state exchequer of the cost of public worship; has gradually furnished to the poorer parish priests an addition to their stipends, raising them to £32 per annum, with the prospect of further raising them to £40; and has contributed to the outlay incurred by the communes for religious purposes. The monastic buildings required for public purposes have been made over to the communal and provincial authorities, while the same authorities have been entrusted with the administration of the ecclesiastical revenues previously set apart for charity and education, and objects of art and historical interest have been consigned to public libraries and museums. By these laws the reception of novices was forbidden in the existing conventual establishments the extinction of which had been decreed, and all new foundations were forbidden, except those engaged in instruction and the care of the sick. But the laws have not been rigorously enforced of late years; and the ecclesiastical possessions seized by the state were thrown on the market simultaneously, and so realized very low prices, being often bought up by wealthy religious institutions. The large number of these institutions was increased when these bodies were expelled from France.

On the 30th of June 1903 the patrimony of the endowment fund amounted to £17,339,040, of which only £264,289 were represented by buildings still occupied by monks or nuns. The rest was made up of capital and interest. The liabilities of the fund (capitalized) amounted to £10,668,105, of which monastic pensions represented a rapidly diminishing sum of £2,564,930. The chief items of annual expenditure drawn from the fund are the supplementary stipends to priests and the pensions to members of suppressed religious houses. The number of persons in receipt of monastic pensions on the 30th of June 1899 was 13,255; but while this item of expenditure will disappear by the deaths of those entitled to pensions, the supplementary stipends and contributions are gradually increasing. The following table shows the course of the two main categories of the fund from 1876 to 1902-1903:—

	1876.	1885-1886.	1898-1899.	1902-1903.
Monastic pensions, liquidation of religious property and provision of shelter for nuns	£749,172	£491,339	£226,479	£165,144
Supplementary stipends to bishops and parochial clergy, assignments to Sardinian clergy and expenditure for education and charitable purposes . .	142,912	128,521	210,020	347,940

Roman Charitable and Religious Fund.—The law of the 19th of June 1873 contained special provisions, in conformity with the character of Rome as the seat of the papacy, and with the situation created by the Law of Guarantees. According to the census of 1871 there were in the city and province of Rome 474 monastic establishments (311 for monks, 163 for nuns), occupied by 4326 monks and 3825 nuns, and possessing a gross revenue of 4,780,891 lire. Of these, 120 monasteries and 90 convents were situated in the city, 51 monasteries and 22 convents in the "suburbicariates." The law of 1873 created a special charitable and religious fund of the city, while it left untouched 23 monasteries and 49 convents which had either the character of private institutions or were supported by foreign funds. New parishes were created, old parishes were improved, the property of the suppressed religious corporations was assigned to charitable and educational institutions and to hospitals, while property having no special application was used to form a charitable and religious fund. On the 30th of June 1903 the balance-sheet of this fund showed a credit amounting to £1,796,120 and a debit of £460,819. Expenditure for the year 1902-1903 was £889,858 and revenue £818,674.

CHAPTER XXI

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

THE Vatican palace itself (with St Peter's), the Lateran palace, and the papal villa at Castel Gandolfo have secured to them the privilege of extraterritoriality by the law of 1871. The small republic of San Marino is the only other enclave in Italian territory. Italy is a constitutional monarchy, in which the executive power belongs exclusively to the sovereign, while the legislative power is shared by him with the parliament. He holds supreme command by land and sea, appoints ministers and officials, promulgates the laws, coins money, bestows honours, has the right of pardoning, and summons and dissolves the parliament. Treaties with foreign powers, however, must have the consent of parliament. The sovereign is irresponsible, the ministers, the signature of one of whom is required to give validity to royal decrees, being responsible. Parliament consists of two chambers, the senate and the Chamber of Deputies, which are nominally on an equal footing, though practically the elective chamber is the more important. The senate consists of princes of the blood who have attained their majority, and of an unlimited number of senators above forty years of age, who are qualified under any one of twenty-one specified categories—by having either held high office, or attained celebrity in science, literature, &c. In 1908 there were 318 senators exclusive of five members of the royal family. Nomination is by the king for life. Besides its legislative functions, the senate is the highest court of justice in the case of political offences or the impeachment of ministers. The deputies to the lower house are 508 in number, *i.e.* one to every 64,893 of the population, and all the constituencies are single-member constituencies. The party system is not really strong. The suffrage is extended to all citizens over twenty-one years of age who can read and write and have either attained a certain standard of elementary education or are qualified by paying a rent which varies from £6 in communes of 2500 inhabitants to £16 in communes of 150,000 inhabitants, or, if peasant farmers, 16s. of rent; or by being sharers in the profits of farms on which not less than £3, 4s. of direct (including provincial) taxation is paid; or by paying not less than £16 in direct (including provincial) taxation. Others, *e.g.* members of the professional classes, are qualified to vote by their position. The number of electors (2,541,327) at the general election in 1904 was 29% of the male population over twenty-one years of age, and 7.6% of the total population—exclusive of those temporarily disfranchised on account of military service; and of these 62.7% voted. No candidate can be returned unless he obtains more than half the votes given and more than one-sixth of the total number on the register; otherwise a second ballot must be held. Nor can he be returned under the age of thirty, and he must be qualified as an elector. All salaried government officials (except ministers, under-secretaries of state and other high functionaries, and officers in the army or navy), and ecclesiastics, are disqualified for election. Senators and deputies receive no salary but have free passes on railways throughout Italy and on certain lines of steamers. Parliaments are quinquennial, but the king may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies at any time, being bound, however, to convoke a new chamber within four months. The executive must call parliament together annually. Each of the chambers has the right of introducing new bills, as has also the government; but all money bills must originate in the Chamber of Deputies. The consent of both chambers and the assent of the king is necessary to their being passed. Ministers may attend the debates of either house but can only vote in that of which they are members. The sittings of both houses are public,

and an absolute majority of the members must be present to make a sitting valid. The ministers are eleven in number and have salaries of about £1000 each; the presidency of the council of ministers (created in 1889) may be held by itself or (as is usual) in conjunction with any other portfolio. The ministries are: interior (under whom are the prefects of the several provinces), foreign affairs, treasury (separated from finance in 1889), finance, public works, justice and ecclesiastical affairs, war, marine, public instruction, commerce, industry and agriculture, posts and telegraphs (separated from public works in 1889). Each minister is aided by an under-secretary of state at a salary of £500. There is a council of state with advisory functions, which can also decide certain questions of administration, especially applications from local authorities and conflicts between ministries, and a court of accounts, which has the right of examining all details of state expenditure. In every country the bureaucracy is abused, with more or less reason, for unprogressiveness, timidity and "red-tape," and Italy is no exception to the rule. The officials are not well paid, and are certainly numerous; while the manifold checks and counter-checks have by no means always been sufficient to prevent dishonesty.

Titles of Honour.—The former existence of so many separate sovereignties and "fountains of honour" gave rise to a great many hereditary titles of nobility. Besides many hundreds of princes, dukes, marquesses, counts, barons and viscounts, there are a large number of persons of "patrician" rank, persons with a right to the designation *nobile* or *signori*, and certain hereditary knights or cavalieri. In the "Golden Book of the Capitol" (*Libro d'Oro del Campidoglio*) are inscribed 321 patrician families, and of these 28 have the title of prince and 8 that of duke, while the others are marquesses, counts or simply patricians. The king's uncle is duke of Aosta, his son is prince of Piedmont and his cousin is duke of Genoa.

Justice.—The judiciary system of Italy is mainly framed on the French model. Italy has courts of cassation at Rome, Naples, Palermo, Turin, Florence, 20 appeal court districts, 162 tribunal districts and 1535 *mandamenti*, each with its own magistracy (*pretura*). In 13 of the principal towns there are also *pretori* who have exclusively penal jurisdiction. For minor civil cases involving sums up to 100 lire (£4), *giudici conciliatori* have also jurisdiction, while they may act as arbitrators up to any amount by request. The Roman court of cassation is the highest, and in both penal and civil matters has a right to decide questions of law and disputes between the lower judicial authorities, and is the only one which has jurisdiction in penal cases, while sharing with the others the right to revise civil cases.

The *pretori* have penal jurisdiction concerning all misdemeanours (*contravvenzioni*) or offences (*delitti*) punishable by imprisonment not exceeding three months or by fine not exceeding 1000 lire (£40). The penal tribunals have jurisdiction in cases involving imprisonment up to ten years, or a fine exceeding £40, while the assize courts, with a jury, deal with offences involving imprisonment for life or over ten years, and have exclusive jurisdiction (except that the senate is on occasion a high court of justice) over all political offences. Appeal may be made from the sentences of the *pretori* to the tribunals, and from the tribunals to the courts of appeal; from the assize courts there is no appeal except on a point of form, which appeal goes to the court of cassation at Rome. This court has the supreme power in all questions of legality of a sentence, jurisdiction or competency.

The penal code was unified and reformed in 1890. A reform of late years is the *condanna condizionale*, equivalent to the English "being bound over to appear for judgment if called upon," applied in 94,489 cases in 1907. In civil matters there is appeal from the *giudice conciliatore* to the *pretore* (who has jurisdiction up to a sum of 1500 lire = £60), from the *pretore* to the civil tribunal, from the civil tribunal to the court of appeal, and from the court of appeal to the court of cassation.

The judges of all kinds are very poorly paid. Even the first president of the Rome court of cassation only receives £600 a year.

The statistics of civil proceedings vary considerably from province to province. Lombardy, with 25 lawsuits per 1000 inhabitants, holds the lowest place; Emilia comes next with 31 per 1000; Tuscany has 39; Venetia, 42; Calabria, 144; Rome, 146; Apulia, 153; and Sardinia, 360 per 1000. The high average in Sardinia is chiefly due to cases within the competence of the conciliation offices. The number of penal proceedings, especially those within the competence of praetors, has also increased, chiefly on account of the frequency of minor contraventions of the law referred to in the section *Crime*. The ratio of criminal proceedings to population is, as a rule, much higher in the south than in the north.

A royal decree, dated February 1891, established three classes of prisons: judiciary prisons, for persons awaiting examination or persons sentenced to arrest, detention or seclusion for less than six months; penitentiaries of various kinds (*ergastoli*, *case di reclusione*, *detenzione* or *custodia*), for criminals condemned to long terms of imprisonment; and reformatories, for criminals under age and vagabonds. Capital punishment was abolished in 1877, penal servitude for life being substituted. This generally involves solitary confinement of the most rigorous nature, and, as little is done to occupy the mind, the criminal not infrequently becomes insane. Certain types of dangerous individuals are relegated after serving a sentence in the ordinary convict prisons, and by administrative, not by judicial process,

to special penal colonies known as *domicilii coatti* or "forced residences." These establishments are, however, unsatisfactory, being mostly situated on small islands, where it is often difficult to find work for the *coatti*, who are free by day, being only confined at night. They receive a small and hardly sufficient allowance for food of 50 *centesimi* a day, which they are at liberty to supplement by work if they can find it or care to do it.

Notwithstanding the construction of new prisons and the transformation of old ones, the number of cells for solitary confinement is still insufficient for a complete application of the penal system established by the code of 1890, and the moral effect of the association of the prisoners is not good, though the system of solitary confinement as practised in Italy is little better. The total number of prisoners, including minors and inhabitants of enforced residences, which from 76,066 (2·84 per 1000 inhabitants) on the 31st of December 1871 rose to a maximum of 80,792 on the 31st of December 1879 (2·87 per 1000), decreased to a minimum of 60,621 in 1896 (1·94 per 1000), and on the 31st of December 1898 rose again to 75,470 (2·38 per 1000), of whom 7038, less than one-tenth, were women. The lowness of the figures regarding women is to be noticed throughout. On the 31st of December 1903 it had decreased to 65,819, of which 6044 were women. Of these, 31,219 were in lock-ups, 25,145 in penal establishments, 1837 minors in government, and 4547 in private reformatories, and 3071 (males) were inmates of forced residences.

Crime.—Statistics of offences, including *contravvenzioni* or breaches of by-laws and regulations, exhibit a considerable increase per 100,000 inhabitants since 1887, and only a slight diminution on the figures of 1897. The figure was 1783·45 per 100,000 in 1887, 2164·46 in 1892, 2546·49 in 1897, 2497·90 in 1902. The increase is partly covered by *contravvenzioni*, but almost every class of penal offence shows a rise except homicide, and even in that the diminution is slow, 5418 in 1880, 3966 in 1887, 4408 in 1892, 4005 in 1897, 3202 in 1902; and Italy remains, owing to the frequent use of the knife, the European country in which it is most frequent. Libels, insults, &c., resistance to public authority, offences against good customs, thefts and frauds, have increased; assaults are nearly stationary. There is also an increase in juvenile delinquency. From 1890 to 1900 the actual number rose by one-third (from 30,108 to 43,684), the proportion to the rest of those sentenced from one-fifth to one-fourth; while in 1905 the actual number rose to 67,944, being a considerable proportionate rise also. In Naples, the Camorra and in Sicily, the Mafia are secret societies whose power of resistance to authority is still not inconsiderable.

Procedure, both civil and criminal, is somewhat slow, and the preliminary proceedings before the *juge d'instruction* occupy much time; and recent murder trials, by the large number of witnesses called (including experts) and the lengthy speeches of counsel, have been dragged out to an unconscionable length. In this, as in the intervention of the presiding judge, the French system has been adopted; and it is said (*e.g.* by Nathan, *Venti anni di vita italiana*, p. 241) that the efforts of the *juge d'instruction* are, as a rule, in fact, though not in law, largely directed to prove that the accused is guilty. In 1902 of 884,612 persons accused of penal offences, 13·12 % were acquitted during the period of the *instruction*, 30·31 by the courts, 46·32 condemned and the rest acquitted in some other way. This shows that charges, often involving preliminary imprisonment, are brought against an excessive proportion of persons who either are not or cannot be proved to be guilty. The courts of appeal and cassation, too, often have more than they can do; in the year 1907 the court of cassation at Rome decided 984 appeals on points of law in civil cases, while no fewer than 460 remained to be decided.

As in most civilized countries, the number of suicides in Italy has increased from year to year.

The Italian suicide rate of 63·6 per 1,000,000 is, however, lower than those of Denmark, Switzerland, Germany and France, while it approximates to that of England. The Italian rate is highest in the more enlightened and industrial north, and lowest in the south. Emilia gives a maximum rate of 10·48 per 100,000, while that of Liguria and Lazio is little lower. The minimum of 1·27 is found in the Basilicata, though Calabria gives only 2·13. About 20 % of the total are women, and there is an increase of nearly 3 % since 1882 in the proportion of suicides under twenty years of age.

CHAPTER XXII

ARMY AND NAVY

Army.—The Italian army grew out of the old Piedmontese army with which in the main the unification of Italy was brought about. This unification meant for the army the absorption of contingents from all parts of Italy and presenting serious differences in physical and moral aptitudes, political opinions and education. Moreover the strategic geography of the country required the greater part of the army to be stationed permanently within the reach of north-eastern and north-western frontiers. These conditions made a territorial system of recruiting or organization, as understood in Germany, practically impossible. To secure fairly uniform efficiency in the various corps, and also as a means of unifying Italy, Piedmontese, Umbrians and Neapolitans are mixed in the same corps and sleep in the same barrack room. But on leaving the colours the men disperse to their homes, and thus a regiment has, on mobilization, to draw largely on the nearest reservists, irrespective of the corps to which they belong. The remedy for this condition of affairs is sought in a most elaborate and artificial system of transferring officers and men from one unit to another at stated intervals in peace-time, but this is no more than a palliative, and there are other difficulties of almost equal importance to be surmounted. Thus in Italy the universal service system, though probably the best organization both for the army and the nation, works with a maximum of friction. “Army Reform,” therefore, has been very much in the forefront of late years, owing to the estrangement of Austria (which power can mobilize much more rapidly), but financial difficulties have hitherto stood in the way of any radical and far-reaching reforms, and even the proposals of the Commission of 1907, referred to below, have only been partially accepted.

The law of 1875 therefore still regulates the principles of military service in Italy, though an important modification was made in 1907–1908. By this law, every man liable and accepted for service served for eight or nine years on the *Active Army* and its *Reserve* (of which three to five were spent with the colours), four or five in the *Mobile Militia*, and the rest of the service period of nineteen years in the *Territorial Militia*. Under present regulations the term of liability is divided into nine years in the *Active Army and Reserve* (three or two years with the colours) four in the *Mobile Militia* and six in the *Territorial Militia*. But these figures do not represent the actual service of every able-bodied Italian. Like almost all “Universal Service” countries, Italy only drafts a small proportion of the available recruits into the army.

The following table shows the operation of the law of 1875, with the figures of 1871 for comparison :—

	30th Sept.		30th June.	
	1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.
Officers ¹	14,070	22,482	36,739	36,718
Men	521,969	1,833,554	2,833,367	3,330,202
Acting Army and Reserve	536,039	731,149	843,160	734,401
Mobile Militia	..	294,714	445,315	320,170
Territorial Militia	..	823,970	1,553,784	2,275,631

¹ Including officers on special service or in the reserve.

Thus, on the 30th of September 1871 the various categories of the army included only 2 % of the population, but on the 30th of June 1898 they included 10 %. But in 1901 the strength of the active army and reserve shows a marked diminution, which became accentuated in the year following. The table below indicates that up to 1907 the army, though always below its nominal strength, never absorbed more than a quarter of the available contingent.

	1902.	1903.	1904.	1906.
Liabie	441,171	453,640	469,860	475,737
Physically unfit	91,176	98,065	119,070	122,559
Struck off	12,270	13,189	13,130	18,222
Failed to appear	33,634	34,711	39,219	40,226
Put back for re-examination . .	108,835	108,618	107,173	122,205
Assigned to Territorial Militia and excused peace service .	92,952	96,916	94,136	87,032
Assigned to active army	102,204	102,141	97,132	87,493
Joined active army	88,666	86,448	81,581	66,836

The serious condition of recruiting was quickly noticed, and the tabulation of each year's results was followed by a new draft law, but no solution was achieved until a special commission assembled. The inquiries made by this body revealed an unsatisfactory condition in the national defences, traceable in the main to financial exigencies, and as regards recruiting a new law was brought into force in 1907-1908.

One specially difficult point concerned the effectiveness of the peace-strength army. Hitherto the actual time of training had been less than the nominal. The recruits due to join in November were not incorporated till the following March, and thus in the winter months Italy was defenceless. The army is always maintained at a low peace effective (about one-quarter of war establishment) and even this was reduced, by the absence of the recruits, until there were often only 15 rank and file with a company, whose war strength is about 230. Even in the summer and autumn a large proportion of the army consisted of men with but a few months' service—a highly dangerous state of things considering the peculiar mobilization conditions of the country. Further—and this case no legislation can cover—the contingent, and (what is more serious) the reserves, are being steadily weakened by emigration. The increase in the numbers rejected as unfit is accounted for by the fact that if only a small proportion of the contingent can be taken for service, the medical standard of acceptance is high.

The new recruiting scheme of 1907 re-established three categories of recruits,¹ the 2nd category corresponding practically to the German *Ersatz-Reserve*. The men classed in it have to train for six months, and they are called up in the late summer to bridge the gap above mentioned. The new terms of service for the other categories have been already stated. In consequence, in 1908, of 490,000 liable, some 110,000 actually joined for full training and 24,000 of the new 2nd category for short training, which contrasts very forcibly with the feeble embodiments of 1906 and 1907. These changes threw a considerable strain on the finances, but the imminence of the danger caused their acceptance.

The peace strength under the new scheme is nominally 300,000, but actually (average throughout the year) about 240,000. The army is organized in 12 army corps (each of 2 divisions), 6 of which are quartered on the plain of Lombardy and Venetia and on the frontiers, and 2 more in northern Central Italy. Their headquarters are: I. Turin, II. Alessandria, III. Milan, IV. Genoa, V. Verona, VI. Bologna, VII. Ancona, VIII. Florence, IX. Rome, X. Naples, XI. Bari, XII. Palermo, Sardinian division Cagliari. In addition there are 22 "Alpini" battalions and 15 mountain batteries stationed on the Alpine frontiers.

The war strength was estimated in 1901 as, *Active Army* (incl. Reserve) 750,000, *Mobile Militia* 320,000, *Territorial Militia* 2,300,000 (more than half of the last-named untrained). These figures are, with a fractional increase in the Regular Army, applicable to-day. When the 1907 scheme takes full effect, however, the Active Army and the Mobile Militia will each be augmented by about one-third. In 1915 the field army should, including officers and permanent *cadres*, be about 1,012,000 strong. The Mobile Militia will not, however, at that date have felt the effects of the scheme, and the Territorial Militia (setting the drain of emigration against the increased population) will probably remain at about the same figure as in 1901.

¹ The 2nd category of the 1875 law had practically ceased to exist.

The army consists of 96 three-battalion regiments of infantry of the line and 12 of *bersaglieri* (riflemen), each of the latter having a cyclist company (*Bersaglieri* cyclist battalions are being (1909) provisionally formed); 26 regiments of cavalry, of which 10 are lancers, each of 6 squadrons; 24 regiments of artillery, each of 8 batteries; ¹ 1 regiment of horse artillery of 6 batteries; 1 of mountain artillery of 12 batteries, and 3 independent mountain batteries. The armament of the infantry is the Männlicher-Carcano magazine rifle of 1891. The field and horse artillery was in 1909 in process of rearmament with a Krupp quick-firer. The garrison artillery consists of 3 coast and 3 fortress regiments, with a total of 72 companies. There are 4 regiments (11 battalions) of engineers. The *carabinieri* or gendarmerie, some 26,500 in number, are part of the standing army; they are recruited from selected volunteers from the army. In 1902 the special corps in Eritrea numbered about 4700 of all ranks, including nearly 4000 natives.

Ordinary and extraordinary military expenditure for the financial year 1898-1899 amounted to nearly £10,000,000, an increase of £4,000,000 as compared with 1871. The Italian Chamber decided that from the 1st of July 1901 until the 30th of June 1907 Italian military expenditure proper should not exceed the maximum of £9,560,000 per annum fixed by the Army Bill of May 1897, and that military pensions should not exceed £1,440,000. Italian military expenditure was thus until 1907 £11,000,000 per annum. In 1908 the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure was £10,000,000. The demands of the Commission were only partly complied with, but a large special grant was voted amounting to at least £1,000,000 per annum for the next seven years. The amount spent is slight compared with the military expenditure of other countries.

The Alpine frontier is fortified strongly, although the condition of the works was in many cases considered unsatisfactory by the 1907 Commission. The fortresses in the basin of the Po chiefly belong to the era of divided Italy and are now out of date; the chief coast fortresses are Vado, Genoa, Spezia, Monte Argentario, Gaeta, Straits of Messina, Taranto, Maddalena. Rome is protected by a circle of forts from a *coup de main* from the sea, the coast, only 12 m. off, being flat and deserted.

Navy.—For purposes of naval organization the Italian coast is divided into three maritime departments, with headquarters at Spezia, Naples and Venice; and into two *comandi militari*, with headquarters at Taranto and the island of Maddalena. The *personnel* of the navy consists of the following corps: (1) General staff; (2) naval engineers, chiefly employed in building and repairing war vessels; (3) sanitary corps; (4) commissariat corps, for supplies and account-keeping; (5) crews.

The *matériel* of the Italian navy has been completely transformed, especially in virtue of the bill of the 31st of March 1875. Old types of vessels have been sold or demolished, and replaced by newer types.

In March 1907 the Italian navy contained, excluding ships of no fighting values:—

	Effective.	Completing.	Projected.
Modern battleships	4	4	3
Old battleships	10	..	..
Armoured cruisers	6	2	..
Protected cruisers	14	..	..
Torpedo gunboats	13	..	..
Destroyers	13	4	10
Modern torpedo boats . . .	34	..	15
Submarines	1	4	2

The four modern ships—the “Vittorio Emanuele” class, laid down in 1897—have a tonnage of 12,625, two 12-in. and twelve 8-in. guns, an I.H.P. of 19,000, and a designed speed of 22 knots, being intended to avoid any battleship and to carry enough guns to destroy any cruiser.

The *personnel* on active service consisted of 1799 officers and 25,000 men, the former being doubled and the latter trebled since 1882.

Naval expenditure has enormously increased since 1871, the total for 1871 having been about £900,000, and the total for 1905-1906 over £5,100,000. Violent fluctuations have, however, taken place from year to year, according to the state of Italian finances. To permit the steady execution of a normal programme of shipbuilding, the Italian Chamber, in May 1901, adopted a resolution limiting naval expenditure, inclusive of naval pensions and of premiums on mercantile shipbuilding, to the sum of £4,840,000 for the following six years, *i. e.* from 1st July 1901 until 30th June 1907. This sum consists of £4,240,000 of naval expenditure proper, £220,000 for naval pensions and £380,000 for premiums upon mercantile shipbuilding. During the financial year ending on the 30th of June 1901 these figures were slightly exceeded.

¹ This may be reduced, in consequence of the adoption of the new Q.F. gun, 1 to 6

The Italian navy possessed at the end of 1912 four battleships of the Dreadnought type, built in Italian yards, one of about 19,000 tons with twelve 12-inch guns in four centre-line triple turrets, and twenty 5·5-in. guns; while the other three are of 21,500 tons and will have thirteen 12-in. guns, nine in triple and four in twin superposed turrets. The two ships laid down in 1912 will have twelve 13·5-in. guns in four turrets. Next come the ships of the Vittorio Emanuele class.

The warships available at the beginning of 1912 were as follows: battleships, 18 (9 are somewhat antiquated); armoured cruisers, 1st class 15 (each about 7000 tons), 2nd class 10, 3rd class 11; torpedo vessels, 5; destroyers, 23; torpedo boats, 82; submarines, 7. At the same time they were building 4 battleships (two Dreadnoughts), 9 destroyers, 30 torpedo-boats and 13 submarines. The naval expenditure for 1911 was £8,379,940, of which £2,277,302 was for new construction. The *personnel* on active service in 1910 consisted of 1927 officers and 27,529 men.

CHAPTER XXIII

FINANCE

THE volume of the Italian budget has considerably increased as regards both income and expenditure. The income of £60,741,418 in 1881 rose in 1899-1900 to £69,917,126; while the expenditure increased from £58,705,929 in 1881 to £69,708,706 in 1899-1900, an increase of £9,175,708 in income and £11,002,777 in expenditure, while there has been a still further increase since, the figures for 1905-1906 showing (excluding items which figure on both sides of the account) an increase of £8,766,995 in income and £5,434,560 in expenditure over 1899-1900. These figures include not only the categories of "income and expenditure" proper, but also those known as "movement of capital," "railway constructions" and "*partite di giro*," which do not constitute real income and expenditure.¹ Considering only income and expenditure proper, the approximate totals are:—

Financial Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surpluses or Deficits.
1882	£52,064,800	£51,904,800	£+ 160,000
1885-1886	56,364,000	57,304,400	— 940,400
1890-1891	61,600,000	64,601,600	—3,001,600
1895-1896	65,344,000	67,962,800	—2,618,800
1898-1899	66,352,800	65,046,400	+1,306,400
1899-1900	66,860,800	65,323,600	+1,537,200
1900-1901	68,829,200	66,094,400	+2,734,800
1905-1906	77,684,100	75,143,300	+2,540,900

The financial year 1862 closed with a deficit of more than £16,000,000, which increased in 1866 to £28,840,000 on account of the preparations for the war against Austria. Excepting the increases of deficit in 1868 and 1870, the annual deficits tended thenceforward to decrease, until in 1875 equilibrium between expenditure and revenue was attained, and was maintained until 1881. Advantage was taken of the equilibrium to abolish certain imposts, amongst them the grist tax, which prior to its gradual repeal produced more than £3,200,000 a year. From 1885-1886 onwards, outlay on public works, military and colonial expenditure, and especially the commercial and financial crises, contributed to produce annual deficits; but owing to drastic reforms introduced in 1894-1895 and to careful management the year 1898-1899 marked a return of surpluses (nearly £1,306,400).

¹ "Movement of capital" consists, as regards "income," of the proceeds of the sale of buildings, Church or Crown lands, old prisons, barracks, &c., or of moneys derived from sale of consolidated stock. Thus "income" really signifies diminution of patrimony or increase of debt. In regard to "expenditure," "movement of capital" refers to extinction of debt by amortization or otherwise, to purchases of buildings or to advances made by the state. Thus "expenditure" really represents a patrimonial improvement, a creation of credit or a decrease of indebtedness. The items referring to "railway construction" represent, on the one hand, repayments made to the exchequer by the communes and provinces of money disbursed on their account by the State Treasury; and, on the other, the cost of new railways incurred by the Treasury. The items of the "*partite di giro*" are inscribed both on the credit and debit sides of the budget, and have merely a figurative value.

The revenue in the Italian financial year 1905-1906 (July 1, 1905 to June 30, 1906) was £102,486,108, and the expenditure £99,945,253, or, subtracting the *partite di giro*, £99,684,121 and £97,143,266, leaving a surplus of £2,540,855.¹ The surplus was made up by contributions from every branch of the effective revenue, except the "contributions and repayments from local authorities." The railways showed an increase of £351,685; registration, transfer and succession, £295,560; direct taxation, £42,136 (mainly from income tax, which more than made up for the remission of the house tax in the districts of Calabria visited by the earthquake of 1906); customs and excise, £1,036,742; government monopolies, £291,027; posts, £41,310; telegraphs, £23,364; telephones, £65,771. Of the surplus £1,000,000 was allocated to the improvement of posts, telegraphs and telephones; £1,000,000 to public works (£720,000 for harbour improvement and £280,000 for internal navigation); £200,000 to the navy (£132,000 for a second dry dock at Taranto and £68,000 for coal purchase); and £200,000 as a nucleus of a fund for the purchase of valuable works of art which are in danger of exportation.

The state therefore draws its principal revenues from the imposts, the taxes and the monopolies. According to the Italian tributary system, "imposts," properly so called are those upon land, buildings and personal estate. The impost upon land is based upon the cadastral survey independently of the vicissitudes of harvests. In 1869 the main quota to the impost was increased by one-tenth, in addition to the extra two-tenths previously imposed in 1866. Subsequently, it was decided to repeal these additional tenths, the first being abolished in 1886 and the rest in 1887. On account of the inequalities still existing in the cadastral survey, in spite of the law of 1886 (see *Agriculture*, above), great differences are found in the land tax assessments in various parts of Italy. Land is not so heavily burdened by the government quota as by the additional centimes imposed by the provincial and communal authorities. On an average Italian landowners pay nearly 25 % of their revenues from land in government and local land tax. The buildings impost has been assessed since 1866 upon the basis of 12.50 % of "taxable revenue." Taxable revenue corresponds to two-thirds of actual income from factories and to three-fourths of actual income from houses; it is ascertained by the agents of the financial administration. In 1869, however, a third additional tenth was added to the previously existing additional two-tenths, and, unlike the tenths of the land tax, they have not been abolished. At present the main quota with the additional three-tenths amounts to 16.25 % of taxable income. The imposts on incomes from personal estate (*ricchezza mobile*) were introduced in 1866; it applies to incomes derived from investments, industry or personal enterprise, but not to landed revenues. It is proportional, and is collected by deduction from salaries and pensions paid to servants of the state, where it is assessed on three-eighths of the income, and from interest on consolidated stock, where it is assessed on the whole amount; and by register in the cases of private individuals, who pay on three-fourths of their incomes, professional men, capitalists or manufacturers, who pay on one-half or nine-twentieths of their income. From 1871 to 1894 it was assessed at 13.20 % of taxable income, this quota being formed of 12 % main quota and 1.20 % as an additional tenth. In 1894 the quota, including the additional tenth, was raised to the uniform level of 20 %. One-tenth of the tax is paid to the communes as compensation for revenues made over to the state.

Taxes proper are divided into (a) taxes on business transactions and (b) taxes on articles, of consumption. The former apply principally to successions, stamps, registrations, mortgages, &c.; the latter to distilleries, breweries, explosives, native sugar and matches, though the customs revenue and octrois upon articles of general consumption, such as corn, wine, spirits, meat, flour, petroleum, butter, tea, coffee and sugar, may be considered as belonging to this class. The monopolies are those of salt, tobacco and the lottery.

Since 1880, while income from the salt and lotto monopolies has remained almost stationary, and that from land tax and octroi has diminished, revenue derived from all other sources has notably increased, especially that from the income tax on person estate, and the customs, the yield from which has been nearly doubled.

It will be seen that the revenue is swollen by a large number of taxes which can only be justified by necessity; the reduction and, still more, the readjustment of taxation (which now largely falls on articles of primary necessity) is urgently needed. The government in presenting the estimates for 1907-1908 proposed to set aside a sum of nearly £800,000 every year for this express purpose. It must be remembered that the sums realized by the octroi go in the main to the various communes. It is only in Rome and Naples that the octroi is collected directly by the government, which pays over a certain proportion to the respective communes.

The external taxation is not only strongly protectionist, but is applied to goods which cannot be made in Italy; hardly anything comes in duty free, even such articles as second-hand furniture paying duty, unless within six months of the date at which the importer has declared domicile in Italy. The application, too, is somewhat rigorous, e.g. the tax

¹ Financial operations (mainly in connexion with railway purchase) figure on each side of the account for about £22,000,000.

on electric light is applied to foreign ships generating their own electricity while lying in Italian ports.

The annual consumption per inhabitant of certain kinds of food and drink has considerably increased, *e.g.* grain from 270 lb per head in 1884-1885 to 321 lb in 1901-1902 (maize remains almost stationary at 158 lb); wine from 73 to 125 litres per head; oil from 12 to 13 lb per head (sugar is almost stationary at 7½ lb per head, and coffee at about 1 lb); salt from 14 to 16 lb per head. Tobacco slightly diminished in weight at a little over 1 lb per head, while the gross receipts are considerably increased—by over 2¼ millions sterling since 1884-1885—showing that the quality consumed is much better. The annual expenditure on tobacco was 5s. per inhabitant in 1902-1903, and is increasing.

The annual surpluses are largely accounted for by the heavy taxation on almost everything imported into the country,¹ and by the monopolies on tobacco and on salt; and are as a rule spent, and well spent, in other ways. Thus, that of 1907-1908 was devoted mainly to raising the salaries of government officials and university professors; even then the maximum for both (in the former class, for an under-secretary of state) was only £500 per annum. The case is frequent, too, in which a project is sanctioned by law, but is then not carried into execution, or only partly so, owing to the lack of funds. Additional stamp duties and taxes were imposed in 1909 to meet the expenditure necessitated by the disastrous earthquake at the end of 1908.

The way in which the taxes press on the poor may be shown by the number of small proprietors sold up owing to inability to pay the land and other taxes. In 1882 the number of landed proprietors was 14·52 % of the population, in 1902 only 12·66, with an actual diminution of some 30,000. Had the percentage of 1882 been kept up there would have been in 1902 600,000 more proprietors than there were. Between 1884 and 1902 no fewer than 220,616 sales were effected for failure to pay taxes, while, from 1886 to 1902, 79,208 expropriations were effected for other debts not due to the state. In 1884 there were 20,422 sales, of which 35·28 % were for debts of 4s. or less, and 51·95 for debts between 4s. and £2; in 1902 there were 4857 sales, but only 11·01 % for debts under 4s. (the treasury having given up proceeding in cases where the property is a tiny piece of ground, sometimes hardly capable of cultivation), and 55·69 % for debts between 4s. and £2. The expropriations deal as a rule with properties of higher value; of these there were 3217 in 1886, 5993 in 1892 (a period of agricultural depression), 3910 in 1902. About 22 % of them are for debts under £40, about 49 % from £40 to £200, about 26 % from £200 to £2000.

Of the expenditure a large amount is absorbed by interest on debt. Debt has continually increased with the development of the state. The sum paid in interest on debt amounted to £17,640,000 in 1871, £19,440,000 in 1881, £25,600,000 in 1891-1892 and £27,560,000 in 1899-1900; but had been reduced to £23,100,409 by the 30th of June 1906. The public debt at that date was composed as follows:—

Part I.—Funded Debt.

Grand Livre—		Amount.	
Consolidated	5 %	.	£316,141,802
"	3 %	.	6,404,335
"	4½ %	net	28,872,511
"	4 %	"	7,875,592
"	3½ %	"	37,689,880
Total		.	£396,984,120
Debts to be transferred to the Grand Livre		.	60,868
Perpetual annuity to the Holy See		.	2,580,000
Perpetual debts (Modena, Sicily, Naples)		.	2,591,807
Total		.	£402,216,795

Part II.—Unfunded Debt.

Debts separately inscribed in the Grand Livre	10,042,027
Various railway obligations, redeemable, &c.	56,375,351
Sicilian indemnities	195,348
Capital value of annual payment of South Austrian Company	37,102,908
Long date Treasury warrants, law of July 7, 1901	1,416,200
Railway certificates (3·65 % net), Art. 6 of law, June 25, 1905, No. 261	14,220,000
Total	£119,351,834
Part I.	£402,216,795

Grand total . . . £521,568,629

¹ For example, wheat, the price of which was in 1902 26 lire per cwt., pays a tax of 7½ lire; sugar pays four times its wholesale value in tax; coffee twice its wholesale value.

The debt per head of population was, in 1905, £14, 16s. 3d., and the interest 13s. 5d.

In July 1906 the 5 % gross (4 % net), and 4 % net rente were successfully converted into 3½ % stock (to be reduced to 3½ % after five years), to a total amount of £324,017,393. The demands for reimbursement at par represented a sum of only £187,588 and the market value of the stock was hardly affected; while the saving to the Treasury was to be £800,000 per annum for the first five years and about double the amount afterwards.

The war with Turkey interfered very little with the national life and prosperity. Foreign capital was not deterred by it, for in the first six months of 1912, which was a period of war, just over £5,000,000 of new capital were paid up, while in the corresponding period of 1911, which was a period of peace, only a little over £3,000,000 were paid up. A good impression was no doubt produced by the fact that it was not necessary to have recourse to a loan to meet the expenses of the war. The actual amounts placed at the disposal of the Ministries of War and Marine respectively by the Minister of Finance during the campaign were £15,440,000 and £2,880,000, but about £4,000,000 of this expenditure was devoted to the replenishment and accumulation of stores and for repairs in dockyards: so that the cost was just under 1,000,000 lire (£40,000) per diem. On the other hand, there remain to be paid (a) the annual contribution of at least £80,000 representing the loss to the Ottoman treasury of the revenue from Tripoli (by art. 10 of the treaty of Lausanne Turkey may ask for this to be capitalized at 4 %, thus converting it into a single payment of £2,000,000); (b) the cost of disbandment and repatriation of the greater part of the troops in Libya. The cost of the war was met by the creation of five year 4 % exchequer bonds for over £16,800,000, whereas the floating debt outstanding on the 30th of June 1911, was about £4,320,000. During the war Italian consols, paying only 3½ % (since the 1st of January 1912) fell from 104 to 94 (on the 31st of October 1912, they had recovered to 98 on the Rome bourse, though only quoted at 94-96 in London), and the exchange on London has hardly been higher than 25·60 lire.

During the year from the 1st of October 1911, to the 30th of September 1912 (which almost exactly covers the duration of the war) the total receipts of the Italian exchequer amounted to £125,640,000, and the expenditure to £117,040,000, showing increases respectively of £8,280,000 and £4,280,000 over the preceding 12 months.¹ The improvement in the yield of taxation was greater than the average advance during the preceding five years. The principal direct and indirect taxes (exclusive of the import duty on grain) and the Post Office revenue yielded £79,800,000 (as against £78,640,000 for 1911): the gross receipts of the railways, in the year ending the 30th of June 1911, were £19,920,000 (£16,240,000 in 1906-1907), while the improvement between the 1st of October 1911, and the 10th of September 1912, as against the corresponding 11½ months of 1910-1911, amounted to £1,480,000. Of this increase £320,000 were due to the additional charges for the benefit of the sufferers by the Sicilian earthquake of December 1908, so that the net advance was still £240,000 in excess of the average growth between the years 1906-1907 and 1910-1911.

The service of debt still represents a large proportion of Italian expenditure, in spite of the reduction of the interest to 3½ % on Consols. In 1910 the total amount of debt was £523,116,074 (exclusive of state bonds held by or to be repaid to the state), and the amount paid in interest £20,169,871, of which only about 12 % was paid abroad, the rest being held by home investors.

The cost of the earthquake of the 28th of December 1908 to the State was covered in four years by the surplus in the budgets and by additional taxes of 2 % on business, of 5 c. or 10 c. on railway tickets, &c. Beyond this, however, there were of course large subscriptions raised. These were in the main paid into an autonomous central Committee which has never published detailed accounts. Besides this, various Italian organizations and foreign countries raised funds which they administered independently, though in consultation with the Italian authorities: thus the last half of the British Mansion House Fund (which amounted to about £140,000 in all) was administered by the British Embassy.

Currency.—The *lira* (plural *lire*) of 100 *centesimi* (centimes) is equal in value to the French franc. The total coinage (exclusive of Eritrean currency) from the 1st of January 1862 to the end of 1907 was 1,104,667,116 lire (exclusive of recoinage), divided as follows: gold, 427,516,970 lire; silver, 570,097,025 lire; nickel, 23,417,000 lire; bronze, 83,636,121 lire. The forced paper currency, instituted in 1866, was abolished in 1881, in which year were dissolved the Union of Banks of Issue created in 1874 to furnish to the state treasury a milliard of lire in notes, guaranteed collectively by the banks. Part of the union notes were redeemed, part replaced by 10 lire and 5 lire state notes, payable at sight in metallic legal tender by certain state banks. Nevertheless the law of 1881 did not succeed in maintaining the value of the state notes at a par with the metallic currency, and from 1885 onwards there reappeared a gold premium, which during 1899 and 1900 remained at about 7 %, but subsequently fell to about 3 % and has since 1902 practically disappeared. The

¹ This period does not correspond with the Italian financial year (July 1st to June 30th), nor the balance with that of the ordinary financial returns (above). It is probable that some of the extra war receipts and expenditure are reckoned on both sides of the account.

paper circulation to the debit of the state and the paper currency issued by the authorized state banks is shown below :—

Date.	Direct Liability of State.		Notes issued by State Banks.	Aggregate Paper Currency.
	State Notes.	Bons de Caisse. ¹		
	Lire.	Lire.	Lire.	Lire.
31st December 1881	940,000,000	..	735,579,197	1,675,579,197
" 1886	446,665,535	..	1,031,869,712	1,478,535,247
" 1891	341,949,237	..	1,121,601,079	1,463,550,316
" 1896	400,000,000	110,000,000	1,069,233,376	1,579,233,376
" 1899	451,431,780	42,138,152	1,180,110,330	1,673,680,262
" 1905	441,304,780	1,874,184	1,406,474,800	1,848,657,764

¹ These ceased to have legal currency at the end of 1901; they were notes of 1 and 2 lire.

Banks.—Until 1893 the juridical status of the Banks of Issue was regulated by the laws of the 30th of April 1874 on paper currency and of the 7th of April 1881 on the abolition of forced currency. At that time four limited companies were authorized to issue bank notes, namely, the National Bank, the National Bank of Tuscany, the Roman Bank and the Tuscan Credit Bank; and two banking corporations, the Bank of Naples and the Bank of Sicily. In 1893 the Roman Bank was put into liquidation, and the other three limited companies were fused, so as to create the Bank of Italy, the privilege of issuing bank notes being thenceforward confined to the Bank of Italy, the Bank of Naples and the Bank of Sicily. The gold reserve in the possession of the Banca d'Italia on September 30th, 1907, amounted to £32,240,984, and the silver reserve to £4,767,861; the foreign treasury bonds, &c. amounted to £3,324,074, making the total reserve £40,332,919; while the circulation amounted to £54,612,234. The figures were on the 31st of December 1906 :—

	Paper Circulation.	Reserve.
Banca d'Italia . . .	£47,504,352	£36,979,235
Banca di Napoli . . .	13,893,152	9,756,284
Banca di Sicilia . . .	2,813,692	2,060,481
Total	£64,211,196	£48,796,000

This is considerably in excess of the circulation, £40,404,000, fixed by royal decree of 1900; but the issue of additional notes was allowed, provided they were entirely covered by a metallic reserve, whereas up to the fixed limit a 40 % reserve only was necessary. These notes are of 50, 100, 500 and 1000 lire; while the state issues notes for 5, 10 and 25 lire, the currency of these at the end of October 1906 being £17,546,967; with a total guarantee of £15,636,000 held against them. They were in January 1908 equal in value to the metallic currency of gold and silver.

The price of Italian consolidated 5 % (gross, 4 % net, allowing for the 20 % income tax) stock, which is the security most largely negotiated abroad, and used in settling differences between large financial institutions, has steadily risen during recent years. After being depressed between 1885 and 1894, the prices in Italy and abroad reached, in 1899, on the Rome Stock Exchange, the average of 100·83 and of 94·8 on the Paris Bourse. By the end of 1901 the price of Italian stock on the Paris Bourse had, however, risen to par or thereabouts. The average price of Italian 4 % in 1905 was 105·29; since the conversion to 3½ % net (to be further reduced to 3½ in five more years), the price has been about 103·5. Rates of exchange, or, in other words the gold premium, favoured Italy during the years immediately following the abolition of the forced currency in 1881. In 1885, however, rates tended to rise, and though they fell in 1886 they subsequently increased to such an extent as to reach 110 % at the end of August 1894. For the next four years they continued low, but rose again in 1898 and 1899. In 1900 the maximum rate was 107·32, and the minimum 105·40, but in 1901 rates fell considerably, and were at par in 1902–1909.

There are in Italy six clearing houses, namely, the ancient one at Leghorn, and those of Genoa, Milan, Rome, Florence, and Turin, founded since 1882.

The number of ordinary banks, which diminished between 1889 and 1894, increased in the following years, and was 158 in 1898. At the same time the capital employed in banking decreased by nearly one-half, namely, from about £12,360,000 in 1880 to about £6,520,000 in 1898. This decrease was due to the liquidation of a number of large and small banks,

amongst others the Bank of Genoa, the General Bank, and the Società di Credito Mobiliare Italiano of Rome, and the Genoa Discount Bank—establishments which alone represented £4,840,000 of paid-up capital. Ordinary credit operations are also carried on by the co-operative credit societies, of which there are some 700.

Certain banks make a special business of lending money to owners of land or buildings (*credito fondiario*). Loans are repayable by instalments, and are guaranteed by first mortgages not greater in amount than half the value of the hypothecated property. The banks may buy up mortgages and advance money on current account on the security of land or buildings. The development of the large cities has induced these banks to turn their attention rather to building enterprise than to mortgages on rural property. The value of their land certificates or *cartelle fondiarie* (representing capital in circulation) rose from £10,420,000 in 1881 to £15,560,000 in 1886, and to £30,720,000 in 1891, but fell to £29,320,000 in 1896, to £27,360,000 in 1898, and to £24,360,000 in 1907; the amount of money lent increased from £10,440,000 in 1881 to £15,600,000 in 1886, and £30,800,000 in 1891, but fell to £29,320,000 in 1896, to £27,360,000 in 1899, and to £21,720,000 in 1907. The diminution was due to the law of the 10th of April 1893 upon the banks of issue, by which they were obliged to liquidate the loan and mortgage business they had previously carried on.

Various laws have been passed to facilitate agrarian credit. The law of the 23rd of January 1887 (still in force) extended the dispositions of the Civil Code with regard to "privileges,"¹ and established special "privileges" in regard to harvested produce, produce stored in barns and farm buildings, and in regard to agricultural implements. Loans on mortgage may also be granted to land-owners and agricultural unions, with a view to the introduction of agricultural improvements. These loans are regulated by special disposition, and are guaranteed by a share of the increased value of the land after the improvements have been carried out. Agrarian credit banks may, with the permission of the government, issue *cartelle agrarie*, or agrarian bonds, repayable by instalments and bearing interest.

Internal Administration.—It was not till 1865 that the administrative unity of Italy was realized. Up to that year some of the regions of the kingdom, such as Tuscany, continued to have a kind of autonomy; but by the laws of the 20th of March the whole country was divided into 69 provinces and 8545 communes. The extent to which communal independence had been maintained in Italy through all the centuries of its political disintegration was strongly in its favour. The syndic (*sindaco*) or chief magistrate of the commune was appointed by the king for three years, and he was assisted by a "municipal junta."

Local government was modified by the law of the 10th of February 1889 and by posterior enactments. The syndics (or mayors) are now elected by a secret ballot of the communal council, though they are still government officials. In the provincial administrations the functions of the prefects have been curtailed. Each province has a prefect, responsible to and appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, while each of the regions (called variously *circondarii* and *distretti*) has its sub-prefect. Whereas the prefect was formerly *ex-officio* president of the provincial deputation or executive committee of the provincial council, his duties under the present law are reduced to mere participation in the management of provincial affairs, the president of the provincial deputation being chosen among and elected by the members of the deputation. The most important change introduced by the new law has been the creation in every province of a provincial administrative junta entrusted with the supervision of communal administrations, a function previously discharged by the provincial deputation. Each provincial administrative junta is composed, in part, of government nominees, and in larger part of elective elements, elected by the provincial council for four years, half of whom require to be elected every two years. The acts of communal administration requiring the sanction of the provincial administrative junta are chiefly financial. Both communal councils and prefects may appeal to the government against the decision of the provincial administrative juntas, the government being guided by the opinion of the Council of State. Besides possessing competence in regard to local government elections, which previously came within the jurisdiction of the provincial deputations, the provincial administrative juntas discharge magisterial functions in administrative affairs, and deal with appeals presented by private persons against acts of the communal and provincial administrations. The juntas are in this respect organs of the administrative jurisprudence created in Italy by the law of the 1st of May 1890, in order to provide juridical protection for those rights and interests outside the competence of the ordinary tribunals. The provincial council only meets once a year in ordinary session.

The former qualifications for electorship in local government elections have been modified, and it is now sufficient to pay five lire annually in direct taxes, five lire of certain communal taxes, or a certain rental (which varies according to the population of a commune), instead of being obliged to pay, as previously, at least five lire annually of direct taxes to the

¹ "Privileges" assure to creditors priority of claim in case of foreclosure for debt or mortgage. Prior to the law of the 23rd of January 1887 harvested produce and agricultural implements were legally exempt from "privilege."

state. In consequence of this change the number of local electors increased by more than one-third between 1887-1889; it decreased, however, as a result of an extraordinary revision of the registers in 1894. The period for which both communal and provincial councils are elected is six years, one-half being renewed every three years.

The ratio of local electors to population is in Piedmont 79 %, but in Sicily less than 45 %. The ratio of voters to qualified electors tends to increase; it is highest in Campania, Basilicata and in the south generally; the lowest percentages are given by Emilia and Liguria.

Local finance is regulated by the communal and provincial law of May 1898, which instituted provincial administrative juntas, empowered to examine and sanction the acts of the communal financial administrations. The sanction of the provincial administrative junta is necessary for sales or purchases of property, alterations of rates (although in case of increase the junta can only act upon request of ratepayers paying an aggregate of one-twentieth of the local direct taxation), and expenditure affecting the communal budget for more than five years. The provincial administrative junta is, moreover, empowered to order "obligatory" expenditure, such as the upkeep of roads, sanitary works, lighting, police (*i. e.* the so-called "guardie di pubblica sicurezza," the "carabinieri" being really a military force; only the largest towns maintain a municipal police force), charities, education, &c., in case such expenditure is neglected by the communal authorities. The cost of fire brigades, infant asylums, evening and holiday schools, is classed as "optional" expenditure. Communal revenues are drawn from the proceeds of communal property, interest upon capital, taxes and local dues. The most important of the local dues is the gate tax, or *dazio di consumo*, which may be either a surtax upon commodities (such as alcoholic drinks or meat), having already paid customs duty at the frontier, in which case the local surtax may not exceed 50 % of the frontier duty, or an exclusively communal duty limited to 10 % on flour, bread and farinaceous products,¹ and to 20 % upon other commodities. The taxes thus vary considerably in different towns.

In addition, the communes have a right to levy a surtax not exceeding 50 % of the quota levied by the state upon lands and buildings; a family tax, or *fuocatico*, upon the total incomes of families, which, for fiscal purposes, are divided into various categories; a tax based upon the rent-value of houses, and other taxes upon cattle, horses, dogs, carriages and servants; also on licences for shopkeepers, hotel and restaurant keepers, &c.; on the slaughter of animals, stamp duties, one-half of the tax on bicycles, &c. Occasional sources of interest are found in the sale of communal property, the realization of communal credits, and the contraction of debt.

The provincial administrations are entrusted with the management of the affairs of the provinces in general, as distinguished from those of the communes. Their expenditure is likewise classed as "obligatory" and "optional." The former category comprises the maintenance of provincial roads, bridges and watercourse embankments; secondary education, whenever this is not provided for by private institutions or by the state (elementary education being maintained by the communes), and the maintenance of foundlings and pauper lunatics. "Optional" expenditure includes the cost of services of general public interest, though not strictly indispensable. Provincial revenues are drawn from provincial property, school taxes, tolls and surtaxes on land and buildings. The provincial surtaxes may not exceed 50 % of the quotas levied by the state. In 1897 the total provincial revenue was £3,732,253, of which £3,460,000 was obtained from the surtax upon lands and buildings. Expenditure amounted to £3,768,888, of which the principal items were £760,000 for roads and bridges, £520,000 for lunatic asylums, £240,000 for founding hospitals, £320,000 for interest on debt and £200,000 for police. Like communal revenue, provincial revenue has considerably increased since 1880, principally on account of the increase in the land and building surtax.

The Italian local authorities, communes and provinces alike have considerably increased their indebtedness since 1882. The ratio of communal and provincial debt per inhabitant has grown from 30.79 lire (£1, 4s. 7½d.) to 43.70 lire (£1, 14s. 11d.), an increase due in great part to the need for improved buildings, hygienic reforms and education, but also attributable in part to the manner in which the finances of many communes are administered. The total was in 1900, £49,496,193 for the communes and £6,908,022 for the provinces. The former total is more than double and the latter more than treble the sum in 1873, while there is an increase of 62 % in the former and 26 % in the latter over the totals for 1882.

¹ At the beginning of 1902 the Italian parliament sanctioned a bill providing for the abolition of municipal duties on bread and farinaceous products within three years of the promulgation of the bill on 1st July 1902.

APPENDIX

ITALIAN COLONIES

THE Italian dependencies—Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and Benadir—have been placed under a Ministry of the Colonies, the first Minister being Signor Bertolini.

Tripoli.—The Italian trade with Tripolitania in 1910 amounted to £128,000 worth of imports out of a total of £477,500, and £176,000 worth of exports, a considerable increase on the figures for 1909 (£64,600 and £116,800 respectively). British exports in 1909 were nearly £160,000, and imports in 1910 about the same. Tripoli can now be reached in 48 hours from Rome via Syracuse.

The western frontier of Tripoli (as far as Ghadames) was accurately surveyed for the first time by the Franco-Turkish boundary commission of 1910–1911, with the result that the position of Ghadames was shifted some miles to the east of that previously assigned to it. M. Pervinquier at the same time explored the region from the geological point of view. The most recent maps of Tripolitania (1 : 400,000) and of Cyrenaica (1 : 600,000) were published in 1911 by the Italian Ordnance Survey.

Italian Somaliland.—A minor frontier question which had arisen between Great Britain and Italy owing to the shifting of the mouth of the Juba was settled by the acceptance in 1911 by the former of the new mouth as the terminal point of the frontier. A map on the scale of 1 : 200,000 (1910) is being published by the Italian Ordnance Survey.

Eritrea.—The budget of 1910–1911 shows an expenditure of £559,000, of which Italy contributed nearly half. In this is included £200,000 for the construction of the railway from Ghinda to Asmara. Another line is to be built from Asmara to Keren. The railways already working earned £12,000 as against £7480 in the previous year. The military expenses are now only £175,500, while the civil expenditure is £383,600. Products exported from the colony to Italy enjoy preferential duty; the most important are cattle, coffee, wheat and cotton. It has been calculated that Eritrea will be able to produce enough cotton to make Italy independent of American importation, as soon as there are adequate means of transport to the coast. The total external trade is of the annual value of about £700,000, of which a third is with Italy, while India follows with £150,000 worth of imports. A new edition of the map on the scale of 1 : 100,000 of the whole colony, and a map on the scale of 1 : 50,000 of part of the colony, have been published by the Italian Ordnance Survey.

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